INTIMATE SOCIETY LETTERS *of the* EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

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INTIMATE SOCIETY LETTERS OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

VOL. I

Irving

INTIMATE SOCIETY LETTERS

OF THE

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

EDITED BY

THE DUKE OF ARGYLL, K.T.

WITH PORTRAITS, FACSIMILES, AND OTHER ILLUSTRATIONS

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL. I

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PREFACE

LETTERS, grave or gay, have always a freshness about them, a reality of expression, which we too often look for in vain in historical narrative. We may feel that we have no right to listen, and human nature unfortunately finds in this an extra interest. Curiosity may be an impudent jade, prying where she has no business to gaze, or staring where she ought only to take a discreet glance, but she is listened to and even courted. It is innate in us to like to know the world as it was in the days of our ancestors and ancestresses, not only through the pompous phrases of orators or historians, but through the everyday tittle-tattle as well as through the political letters of years long gone by. The mental picture is not complete without these details. And if no living person's character or feelings be hurt, there can be no harm in gratifying a curiosity that is certainly more pleasing than would be any attempt to know too much of our modern next-door neighbour's private affairs.

Interest grows with growing similarity in

surroundings, and we love to compare the immediate Past with the conventionalities, and faults and virtues, of those whose portraits we have on our walls, and of whose actions History tells us, and who were responsible for our own existence in a society they largely prepared for us. Often they may have borne the same names we bear. We have a lawful desire to see them as they moved throughout that century when the quiet of social life was broken to listen to the thunder of the wars of which Marlborough and Eugene were the heroes beloved in Britain, and then of the campaigns of the Great Frederick, of our own Stuart insurrection, and of the events ending in the Independence of our American Colonies.

It was the century of mighty commanders, culminating in Bonaparte, as all the world then called "the Corsican Ogre." It is fortunate so many letters survive to enable us to live again with those who then told each other their thoughts during those days, and we can thus estimate their dangers, and the spirit with which they encountered them.

To turn to lighter contrasts, it is curious to see that some of the expressions we suppose to be modern date back so far. "Jolly," for instance, is of old use. But we do not now say "vastly" so often as they did in the eighteenth century, and "awfully" is almost unknown except with its real meaning. "Mighty" is another adjective which was wrongly used by our great-

grandparents. The forms of distant and formal civility were employed between the nearest relatives, and it might have been possible for a Duchess of those days in addressing her husband to make the mistake said lately to have been made by a hospitable City merchant who was entertaining a Scottish Duke at the merchant's newly acquired Northern estate, when the Duke, to his surprise, was twice asked to partake of "moorfowl" with the words "*Grace, your Grouse?*" Much port and claret was drunk, but little if any liqueurs, so that any ecclesiastic grown sleepy during a dinner that began at 4 p.m. would not be under the temptation, when nearly asleep and hearing the servant ask him if he would have Chartreuse or Benedictine, of dreaming that the word "Benedictine" was a call to say grace, and to jump up, as a modern clergyman did, in the middle of dinner and call out "Benedictus Benedicat," to the astonishment of the company, who had long begun, and meant to be equally long before finishing, dinner. Domestic comforts were in some respects wanting, and a Highland laird invited to a new house in which they had been provided, replied to the hostess, when asked if his rooms were comfortable, by saying, "Yes, Madam, but the washstand is rather low." People did most of their ablutions outside the house in summer, and troubled themselves little about any in winter. In woods outside the house were cottages with dressing-rooms where men could warm them-

selves after a plunge into cold water in a submerged tank.

The following letters were all written in the eighteenth century, or by persons born before its end.

ARGYLL.

March 1910.

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THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

I

Of all the centuries that lie
  Beneath us in the dust of Time,
I like the eighteenth, and I try
  To paint in thought its fame, and crime.

II

A wondrous rich mosaic seems
  Revealed in its last layer of earth:
Then rare Invention bade the dreams
  Of bygone ages move to birth;

III

And what had Fancies been, became
  The living children of a day,
Bright with all Love's ethereal flame,
  Or black with terror and dismay.

IV

Then rose at last the mental might
  Of Man to dominate the power
That Nature gives in Light and Heat,
  Volcano's blaze, or vernal shower.

V

And Liberty, in Lace, or Rags,
  Led her ensanguined columns on;
When Paris fouled her gorgeous flags,
  Raised to the stars by Washington.

VI

Then spread the Press its potent wing,
  And Thought was crystallised in storm.

The Marseillaise's chant could wring
From Chaos Order's altered form.

VII

Then Music made the Stage sublime
Where Painters and the Poets met:
When Courtesy half veiled a crime
And manners moved in minuette!

VIII

Then even Insult, neatly phrased,
Made Passion bear some pleasing fruit;
And ere the flame of battle blazed
Men greeted foes with gay salute.*

IX

A century of Wars and Arts,
Of colour, character, and song,
Out of whose lurid background starts
Ideas that bear our barques along.

X

And from its greatest captains we
May learn to wed the pride of race
To stronger Empire, till we be
Proud of no pride of meaner place;

XI

And from its drama learn anew
That classic glory had no vice
So great as that which leaves to few
The duty of self-sacrifice.

XII

So while we on its stage disclose
A scene of colour, it may spell,
Through Ladies, Warriors, Belles and Beaux,
"My great grandchildren, fare you well!"

* At the battle of Fontenoy the French Guards' officers saluted and called on their enemy to fire first.

Intimate Society Letters of the Eighteenth Century

THE UNION OF ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND

Foreword to Letters from John 2nd Duke of Argyll, Lord Leven, and Mr. Cockburne, Lord Justice Clerk

THESE letters came from the collection of the Duke of Leeds, the representative of Lord Godolphin, Queen Anne's Lord Treasurer and Prime Minister.

The series includes twenty-one autograph letters of John second Duke of Argyll, two addressed to Queen Anne when he was her High Commissioner to the Scots Parliament in 1705, and the others (excepting two dated in 1706) written to Lord Godolphin in 1705, and containing his confidential opinion and advice as to the course of business, and giving his views of the character of the persons engaged in affairs of state at Edinburgh.

It will be remembered that the writer was given the English dukedom of Greenwich, and the borough of Greenwich still carries his coat-of-arms. He was the great-grandson of the Marquis of Argyll executed in the reign of Charles II. for having entertained Cromwell at

Edinburgh. He was the grandson of the Earl of Argyll whose invasion of Scotland in 1685, in concert with Monmouth's invasion of the west of England, had the like unfortunate ending, both leaders having been deceived as to the amount of support they would receive in opposition to the Government of James II. The Duke was also grandson of the Duchess of Lauderdale, whose family name was Murray, and who was Countess of Dysart in her own right. He was born at that beautiful Ham House near Richmond, and one of his residences was Sudbrook on the river, where his arms may still be seen in the central hall of the building, now the headquarters of a golf club.

He succeeded to the dukedom of Argyll on the 28th September 1703. His father had been chosen to place the Scottish crown on King William's head at Whitehall. Throughout his great career he worked for the union of the two kingdoms and the Protestant succession to the throne—the cause, as he believed, of civil and religious freedom. In April 1705 he was appointed the Lord Commissioner to the Parliament of Scotland for the promotion of the Union. It was at this time that nearly all these letters were written. He carried successfully the Act empowering the Queen to name Commissioners from Scotland for the purpose of negotiating a Treaty with the English statesmen appointed for the same purpose. On his return from Scotland he was received with much honour in London, and made an English Earl.

The Edinburgh mob was against him. The old nobles of Scotland were against him. The action of the Government in London itself did not help the Union cause. But he persevered,

advising this and that concession, and pointing out the manner in which important men might be influenced to throw their weight against the ancient separatism and enmity and warfare.

The very curious incident which put an end to the conferences of that year, and postponed the fruition of the hopes of Union, is alluded to in the letters. This untoward accident was due to the idea that an English vessel which anchored in Leith Roads was the same vessel that had been guilty of acts of piracy against a Scottish ship in the Southern Seas. It was very unlikely that any captain knowing himself to be guilty of attacking a Scottish vessel should place himself in the power of the people he had injured. But when some amateur police seized the officers of the English vessel, and charged them with high-sea piracy, the captain confessed to some such act, though it is very improbable that it was the one of which he was accused. The Government of Queen Anne in London heard of the seizure of the ship, and fearing what afterwards happened, that the feelings of Scots and English would be irritated afresh by a trial, sent down commands to free the captain. It was too late. He had been quickly tried, condemned, and hanged. The negotiations were broken off, and it was only two years after the date of the writing of these letters that the Duke of Hamilton was able to bring the completed Treaty of Union for the Queen's signature as she sat on the terrace in front of the Orangery at Kensington Palace in 1707.

In 1706 the Duke made the campaign against the French with Marlborough and fought at Ramillies, and later, in 1708, led a division at

Oudenarde and Malplaquet, where at the head of the Buffs he carried and held the wood the capture of which virtually decided the battle in favour of the allies.

In 1707 he was present in the Scots Union Parliament, and was the most trusted leader of the Presbyterians in Scotland. He was one of the best of the Whig orators at Westminster. When Queen Anne was dying it was owing to his entry into the council room at Kensington, and to his prompt action in bringing up troops, that the Protestant succession was assured. He had not been summoned, and the Council desired to proclaim Queen Anne's brother, but by moving that the assembly should include all members of the Privy Council the design was frustrated.

On the breaking out of Mar's rebellion in 1715, Argyll was made Commander-in-Chief in Scotland, and led in person at Sheriffmuir, scattering the left wing of the Stuart forces, which in number greatly exceeded his own. When he had chased them past Dunblane, he found that the Dragoons on his own left had given way before the Clans, and he faced round, intending again to attack the hills on which the Highland host had partly rallied. The darkness made him wait till morning, when he found the rebels had fled, abandoning guns and colours. After the war he and his brother Lord Islay had paramount influence in Scotland, and greatly contributed to the course of policy in England, being chiefly instrumental in driving Walpole from power in 1742.

He died in 1743, and was buried in Westminster Abbey, where his monument by Roubillac in the southern transept is so well known.

A strong Jacobite and political opponent of

the Duke says of him: "His word was so sacred that one might assuredly depend upon it. His head ran more upon the camp than the court. He was endowed with that cheerful and lively temper and personal valour esteemed and necessary in the army. In Scotland he gained the leading of the Presbyterians, as his father had done before him."

Lord Leven.—There are letters from this Earl to Godolphin in this collection, and one to another Minister in England, probably Harley. Leven was one of Godolphin's most trusted Scots statesmen. He was the third bearer of the title and was the second Earl of Melville. He was born in 1660 and died in 1728. He was a second son, and succeeded to the Melville title in 1707. He was a Presbyterian Whig of the purest blood. His father had fled to Holland before the revolution, and had become a confidant of William of Orange. On the revolution taking place in Britain, Lord Leven was made colonel of a regiment at the head of which he distinguished himself at the fight of Killiecrankie, by maintaining his ground in the face of the furious attack of the Highlanders which swept off the field all the other regiments of Mackay except one. His courage on that day was warmly praised by Mackay in his letters.

Mr. Cockburne to Lord Godolphin.

EDINBURGH,
7th April, 1705.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

Not to impute my silence to any want of respect for your Lordship or that due regard I ought to have for her Majesty's service,

Upon my arrival in this place I took occasion to discourse [with] several members of parliament, and found them not so positive for a previous treaty with England before the succession should be settled, providing there were conditions granted as was insinuat last year there would have been, and they seemed apprehensive they had then neglected an opportunity might not offer again. While this opinion appeared with not a few, a rumour came abroad that the Duke of Hamilton was immediately to be employed in the post of greatest trust under her Majesty; this being grounded upon letters from your Lordship to the Lord Bielhaven, seemed to leave no place to doubt the truth of it. How far that Lord was allowed to make public your Lordship's letters I'm not to enquire, only your Lordship must know it put men under an unresolvedness what measures to take—especially several of those had joined with his grace last year.

Things standing thus, we had advice of her Majesty's having named the Duke of Argyll Commissioner to the parliament, and that the Earl of Seafield, now Chancellor, and the Earl of Roxburgh were to be in Scotland as soon as possible; when they came everybody was desirous to understand the measures. I learnt none, but that they expected the Commissioner would quickly follow them, and then matters would be concerted; upon which I went to the country for some days, and at my return I understood there was a great flame raised against the Duke of Argyll: the occasion for it was taken from a letter he wrote to the Chancellor by her

Majesty's order about a reprieve to Captain Green * and his crew. However this letter might be written not altogether agreeable to our form, yet I cannot think so great occasion needed be taken to expose his grace in an affair so popular as this is, as altogether tends to ruin his interest, especially while he stood under the character of her Majesty's Commissioner; and ever anything looked like an escape in form, would have been overlooked, was it not that those got the management of affairs the beginning of winter, easily hearken to informations, as that the Duke of Argyll will not be satisfied, till he has a thorough change in the Ministry. Of this they are acquainted by one was sent down last summer by her Majesty and is now at London still in possession of a good post of this kingdom; his advices do not tend to beget a good understanding: 'tis to be regretted that those had the management last year, and neither then could nor yet can by their own interest do the business, should not show more willingness to join in the measures with those are ready and can be helpful to carry on business if allowed a share in the management, to show that the Queen trusts them. Your Lordship knows the Duke of Argyll's humour and disposition; his warmness has not wanted incitement from opposition a grant her Majesty gave him met with in the Thesaurie laitly, which makes it no wonder he desire to have more interest at that board.

I have here troubled your Lordship with

* Captain Green was the captain of the English vessel accused of piracy, for which he was hanged, in spite of the remonstrances of Queen Anne's Government.

too long a letter considering it gives no pleasing view of our affairs. But if it can any wayes be helpful to direct your Lordship how to look into matters, in order to your giving some seasonable advice to prevent our ruining ourselves, I will expect your Lordship's pardon, and if this freedom I take in writing be disallowed by your Lordship be pleased by an early check to put a stop to it; only allow me to beg your Lordship will believe I retaine a graitfull sense of your Lordship's favour, and wherein I can be useful for her Majesty's service there shall nothing be wanting lyes in the power of him who is with all respect, My Lord,

Your Lordship's most humble and
most obliged servant,
A. Cockburne.

The Duke of Argyll to Queen Anne.

May it please your Majesty,

I send your Majesty enclosed the copy of all the papers delivered me in presence of some of your Majesty's servants, by one McDaniell, an Irishman, perfectly unknown to everybody here, who pretended to make a discovery. We all thought it our duty since such papers were delivered to us, that they should be laid before your Majesty, though indeed we are all of opinion that it is highly probable that this fellow is a rogue and impostor, who has contrived this story out of hopes of getting a reward. The great number of considerable noblemen and gentlemen of good reputation he accuses, the simplicity of the ciphered letters, his letter wherein he talks so much of a reward, Steward who he mentions

LETTER FROM MR. COCKBURNE, LORD JUSTICE CLERK

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LETTER FROM THE DUKE OF ARGYLL TO QUEEN ANNE

p. 9]

in his papers not coming as he positively asserted he would before last night, and lastly his not appearing these two days, are all arguments against there being credit given to what he says. We humbly think it absolutely necessary for your Majesty's service that your Majesty would be pleased not to let the names of those he pretends to accuse be known unless there should appear much stronger reasons to believe what he says than do at present.

May it please your Majesty, I am just now informed that this McDaniell is run away, so those of your Majesty's servants who are now present believe it is all a cheat.

I am, your Majesty's
Most dutiful and most obedient humble
Subject and Servant,
ARGYLL.

TO THE QUEEN.
May 2, 1705.

The Duke of Argyll to Lord Godolphin.

MY LORD,

I have obeyed the Queen's commands in consulting with such of her Majesty's servants whom I could trust about her affairs in this Kingdom, and I find them perfectly of the opinion I always entertained that the Government would never recover its strength, but be ever feeble so long as it was not of a piece. I consulted in particular with the Marquess of Annandell, ye Earle of Leaven, ye Earle of Glascow, and the Register: we considered the matter very deliberately and argued the difficulties on all sides with the calmness requisite in affairs of this nature and consequence, and I think I may venture to be positive all incon-

veniences were made appear that can possibly happen; at last we unanimously agreed that it was impossible the Queen's Service could be carried on by any other method than by her Majesty being pleased to lay aside the new Party as they are pleased to call themselves, consisting of half a dozen, and put their places in the hands of such as have always been firm to a Revolution and who have ten times the interest and fifty times the inclination to serve her Majesty.

Some few of the many reasons that were given for this method are these, that those gentlemen took all pains imaginable to disappoint the Queen's measures the last session of Parliament, and indeed contributed more towards it than even the opposing party, as an unfaithful friend is much abler to undo a man than an open professed enemy; some instances of this I had the honour to lay before your Lordship, such as their underhand promoting the Barons Act; and the Act for free voting in Parliament, perhaps the worst service that ever was done a good Prince by an unfaithful Ministry, with some other steps of the like consequence, such as their dealing with the opposing party for the persecuting some of the best and most considerable of her Majesty's Scotch subjects, with no less an aim than their lives and fortunes; the Duke of Queensberry, the Earls of Leaven and Stairs are the men; I believe your Lordship knows they had a design of bringing them to a trial, and I do believe were diverted from it by no other reason, but that they found by a trial of skill they made against the Earl of Leaven in a lawsuit of his that came before Parliament, wherein they exerted themselves to the utmost

and lost it by about ninety votes, to the eternal reputation of the justice of that honourable Assembly (that even a whole Ministry leaning on one side could not bias from doing justice). They could not hope to succeed against any particular person and had it only in their power to disappoint the Queen's business, which they effectually did: for it is also plain that every time they came into the Government they have made use of the Queen's authority upon all occasions to carry on their private peaks, which cannot but have appeared to your Lordship in the Duke of Queensberry's case, and my own; and I persuade myself that no man of good sense can be prevailed withal to believe that they will heartily join in a thing which if carried the honour of it might accrue to us, whom they mortally abhor, however they might bring themselves to make some faint pretensions in order to keep their places.

I shall only add that for some months past they have barefacedly been laying up stores in opposition, their whole behaviour has tended to put the nation in a flame, and made the Queen's business as impracticable as possibly they could to any her Majesty should think fit to employ for the future. Their unmerciful violence in the affair of Captain Green and his crew from first to last I am afraid may be of a consequence to the two Nations much to be regretted by all honest well-wishers to Britain. I hope I need not endeavour to persuade your Lordship that the least delay in our affairs will be very dangerous. In a few days we shall humbly offer to the Queen our opinion as to the filling the places we now propose to make vacant, which are the Marquess of Twedall, the Earl of Roxbourg, the

Earl of Rothisy, the Lord Belheaven, and the Lord Selkirk's and J——; we have thought of most of them already, and I hope we shall agree as well in our advice as to the persons to be employed, as we have done in the removing the others.

I hope your Lordship will be pleased to intercede with the Queen that there be no delay in turning out Mr. Wedderburn and putting Sir David Nairn in the office. We have just now had a Council and have carried a reprieve for the rest of Captain Green's crew. I must needs take notice to your Lordship that my Lord Twedall, upon a proposition being made of printing the trial for the satisfaction of such as were not well acquainted with the matter, told us he did not think we were obliged to justify our proceedings in that manner. J—— spoke twice in order to suppress an information the Court had received that Haynes had two hundred pounds offered to him to confess the piracy, and to prevent the prisoners having a shilling a day allowed them to keep them from starving.

Pray, my Lord, let the Queen's commands be returned to us by a flying packet.

I am, my Lord,
Your Lordship's most obedient and
most humble Servant,

ARGYLL.

April the 6th, 1705.

To Lord Godolphin.

MY LORD,

I did not design to have troubled your Lordship with a letter till I heard from you in answer to my first, had not the affair of my Lord

Montrose obliged me. My Lord, I never heard of that matter till the day before I arrived at Edinburgh, and indeed next to the manner of doing it, which was an affront greater than I believe ever was done before to any who had the honour to represent her Majesty, nothing could be more surprising to me than the thing itself; but however since the Queen had been pleased to give my Lord Montrose that post, I only desired the Commission might be stopped at the seals some few days, and then ordered it to pass, but my Lord Montrose it seems has been pleased to write to the Chancellor and desire it might not pass till such time as he should have an answer from the Queen of a letter he designed to write to her Majesty about it, which so soon as the Chancellor told me, I took the commission into my own custody, in order to keep it till the Queen decides in the matter. This proceeding of my Lord Montrose plainly shows he does not care to have it, unless he can get it in opposition to me. So soon, my Lord, as I receive your answer as to the rest of our affairs, I shall give your Lordship a full account of this whole matter; in the meantime I hope the Queen will let it stand as it does.

I am, my Lord,
Your Lordship's most obedient and
most humble Servant,

ARGYLL.

May the 10th, 1705.

To the Queen.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

I have received the honour of your Majesty's letter dated the seventh of May, and

am very sorry I should have proposed what your Majesty does not think for your service. I shall only beg leave to assure your Majesty that neither I nor those of my friends who agreed with me in opinion had any other view in our advice than that there might be a probability of settling the Protestant Succession in this Kingdom, which we shall ever endeavour most zealously to promote whatever stations we are in.

May it please your Majesty,

When in obedience to your commands I undertook this post, it was in hopes of being serviceable to your Majesty in the great and good designs you had of settling this nation, and now that I am perfectly persuaded I can be of no use to your Majesty in it—in all humility I beg your Majesty will be pleased to permit me to deliver the Commission to your Council, which so soon as I am honoured with your Majesty's allowance I shall do.

I hope your Majesty will not think I resign my post of Commissioner in order to persuade you to make the alterations I proposed. I assure your Majesty it is out of no such design; for though now your Majesty should lay them aside, since you have once made difficulties in doing it, this nation will never be persuaded to believe that your Majesty has withdrawn your favour from them, which will make it much the same thing as if they were continued. I must indeed own I am perfectly of opinion that if your Majesty had done what I proposed relating to your Government here at the time I proposed it, your affairs would have gone well; but that is over, and I can now as Duke of

Argyll only pretend to say, that as long as I live I shall act for the Protestant Succession, and as far as in me lies, to the last drop of my blood support your Majesty and your Government.

Whom am in all Duty, may it please your Majesty, Your Majesty's most dutiful and most obedient humble Subject and Servant,

ARGYLL.

EDINBOURG, *the thirteenth of May*, 1705.

To Lord Godolphin.

EDINBURGH, *May* 13*th*, 1705.

MY LORD,

My opinion as to the affairs of this kingdom I gave your Lordship very plainly in my first letter, as I thought myself in duty to the Queen obliged to do, and am sorry it had not the good fortune to be approved of by her Majesty. I am sure it was given out of no other view but the success of her Majesty's measures, and time will show if it was unreasonable. Your Lordship I believe may remember how often I pressed the Queen's coming to a determination in her affairs before I went from London, perfectly perceiving the ill consequences of leaving all in confusion till I came hither; and your Lordship knows that upon her Majesty's declining to determine, that I desired more than once that she would be pleased to name another Commissioner, it being not possible for any to imagine that after the most unaccountable treatment both my friends and I met with from this new party, that they would heartily concur with us in the Queen's

measures: the answer your Lordship always gave me to this, was, that the Queen would do nothing so long as I stayed at London, but that what I should represent for her service from Scotland would be done. By this, my Lord, I was over persuaded to go down, though at the same time I was much against the method, and told your Lordship that if the Queen when I was in Scotland was not pleased to approve of what I should represent to be for her service from thence, that in that case I should be obliged to resign my post of Commissioner.

The case, my Lord, does now exist, and therefore I have written to her Majesty humbly begging her leave to lay down. Now, my Lord, as I have told her Majesty, so I desire to assure your Lordship that I do not quit this commission as an argument to persuade her to do what I desired, for there has been so much time lost that I do think it will not signify much now to make those removes, especially after the Queen has once showed an inclination to continue them; for that will sufficiently convince everybody here that should she be prevailed withal to turn them out if not upon the account of their having served her ill, which was the foot I thought it might have been put upon, I observe both the Queen and your Lordship seem to have expected that I should have given assurances of her affairs succeeding in case the removes were made. My Lord, your Lordship knows I plainly told you it was not in nature possible to succeed with those gentlemen, and that being allowed, there needed no other argument for their removal: but besides I gave your Lordship several very strong reasons, as I then thought, in my first letter, why it was by no

means proper to continue them in the Queen's service; but I shall now submit my judgments, and think them weak since they have not prevailed.

I perfectly agree with your Lordship that the bottom should be kept as broad as may be, and therefore I advised the Queen to turn out some who had very little interest, and yet less worth, that place might be made for others of good interest and well deserving; but indeed it is to no purpose to argue this matter now, the event will show who has given the Queen best advice. I must own, my Lord, I shall ever think that if the Queen had gone into the method I laid down to your Lordship when I proposed it, her affairs had succeeded; but both the encouragement those gentlemen have had from the Queen's unwillingness to part with them, which I can assure your Lordship has occasioned its being said in all public places about this Town that though the Queen should for some reasons lay the new party aside during the Parliament it was plain they were her favourites, together with the irrecoverable loss of time, makes it improbable we should be able to do the Queen's business now: and therefore I shall say no more; but conclude with wishing her Majesty all imaginable prosperity in her affairs, and assuring your Lordship that I shall ever promote the Protestant interest to the farthest of my power and behave myself towards her Majesty as a dutiful subject and faithful servant.

I am, my Lord, etc.,

ARGYLL.

To Lord Godolphin.

May 16*th*, 1705.

My Lord,

I had the honour of both your Lordship's letters and shall take care to put things in as good a posture as may be. My Lord, I think it my duty to acquaint your Lordship, that the Arms of all the troops in this kingdom, except the Horse Guards, are very insufficient, and we have almost no ammunition, so that unless the Queen is pleased to send down some arms and ammunition, her troops here will be of little use. In the meantime your Lordship may assure yourself nothing shall be wanting in me for the Queen's service who am with all respect, my Lord,

Your Lordship's
most obedient and humble Servant,
Argyll.

To Lord Godolphin.

May 26*th*, 1705.

My Lord,

I had the honour of your Lordship's of the 18th, but could not do myself the honour to answer it sooner because my hopes of obtaining leave from her Majesty to lay down had put all thoughts of business out of my head. My Lord, I observe your Lordship seems to put the Queen's laying aside the New Party wholly upon the foot of my having given assurances of success in case it was done. I told your Lordship indeed that if the Queen had followed the advice I humbly offered, at the time it was given, I was of opinion her affairs would have gone well, but on the other hand I told your Lordship the doing

it now could not signify much, and gave you my reasons for thinking so; but if I then failed in my intentions of expressing myself so plainly as I should have done I beg leave to tell your Lordship now, that I cannot venture to take the load of an affair upon me that from my being first named Commissioner has been managed contrary to my opinion, and some steps made that I was not so much as allowed to know.

I assure your Lordship I am far from pretending to give the Queen assurances of success: it were by no means serving her faithfully if I did, for nobody here will be persuaded but that the Queen may be prevailed withal to make another change at the end of the Parliament, if our faithful endeavours fail of success, which opinion encourages the opposing party so much and discourages ours that if there was nothing else to confound business this alone would be in danger to do it; but besides several other things concur to make it unlikely that this session of Parliament will produce what is expected from it, and therefore if her Majesty has resolved on these changes only on the foot of my having insinuated that making them now, though so late, would yet do the business, she had as good continue them, and as I desired before allow me to lay down; but if otherwise, and that the Queen is pleased still to think it for her service that I should continue, I shall make my own inclinations give way to the duty I owe and ever shall pay her Majesty in whatever condition I am, and though I give her Majesty no assurances of success shall do what I can towards obtaining it. But I hope that since I am to undergo so much trouble, and run so great a

risk purely in obedience to her Majesty's commands, since I am infallibly to disoblige so many considerable persons that otherwise I might be well with and who would do anything to serve me in my particular concerns, and besides that I am to venture the ruin of my Estate by being obliged in the meantime to lay out great sums of money, which I believe everybody will be convinced I shall not receive in hest of the public,—I say, my Lord, in consideration of all this I do hope your Lordship will do me the favour to intercede with the Queen that I may have the Peerage of England now which your Lordship knows was the only favour I presumed to ask of the Queen, and which I had hopes from your Lordship and my Lord Duke of Marlboro I should have. I shall not desire to have the patent immediately, since your Lordship was pleased to tell me it was not for the Queen's service the matter should be made public so long as I was commissioner; I only intreat her Majesty would be pleased to let me have the warrant, which I shall upon my honour not produce till after the Parliament. This, my Lord, though it is indeed an extreme great favour to me, yet it is what the Queen can very easily grant, and I am perfectly satisfied if the Queen has any regard for me or my friends who will equally acknowledge it a favour done to them, she will not incline to refuse it, especially considering the great discouragement it must needs be to us, who happen what will your Lordship will ever find firm to her Majesty's interest.

My Lord, that no more time may be lost in case the Queen still thinks it for her service to continue me in his post, I have sent her a list of the persons I would humbly recommend to her

to be employed. As for the measure we are to propose, her Majesty has but one of two to choose, either the succession or a Treaty. The Treaty is certainly most easy to obtain, and the succession much the most desirable, but which of the two we are to go upon we must be directed in by her Majesty. I believe your Lordship would have expected to find the Earl of Stair's name in the list, but he positively declines accepting of any place or pension out of our Treasury here; your Lordship may depend upon it he will serve the Queen faithfully, and how very useful a man he is your Lordship knows, so I hope you will think of some way of rewarding him. I beg, my Lord, your Lordship will treat the Duke of Queensberry kindly. I do not know whether or not he will incline to make his coming into the service public before the Parliament, but certainly he will do in that and in every other thing as he thinks may be most for the advancing the Queen's service. We are drawing the instructions as fast as we can, and so soon as they are ready I shall send them by a flying packet; it is necessary we have a letter for adjourning the Parliament to some blank day in June.

I am, my Lord, with all respect, etc., etc.,

ARGYLL.

To Lord Godolphin.

MY LORD,

I am glad to understand by your Lordship's letter which I was honoured with yesterday that her Majesty does not put her compliance with what was proposed for her service upon my having given any assurance of success: I

believe, my Lord, your Lordship will think I was very much concerned to clear that point, both in duty to the Queen, that she might know the true state of her affairs, and in regard to myself who most deservedly had lost her Majesty's favour if I had presumed to assure her of success and afterwards failed of it. My Lord, it is matter of great joy to me that her Majesty is pleased to have any confidence in my affection to her interests. I assure your Lordship I am deeply sensible of the extraordinary mark of her Majesty's favour in this of the Peerage of England, and as I am in gratitude bound, I shall ever in this, or any other station I shall happen to be in, serve her Majesty faithfully, and never put either fortune or life in balance with her Majesty's interest.

I wish, my Lord, the Queen had not delayed sending down the letter to the Council for declaring the vacancies, for every step of that kind is matter of encouragement to the opposing party. As for the Duke of Queensberry, I cannot doubt of his coming down, but I assure your Lordship after its being known that I proposed his being employed, if her Majesty should slight him by not taking him into her service, it will make his influence here so small as to render him of very little use to the Queen's affairs, whereas on the contrary if her Majesty is pleased to employ him, and let him have her countenance, he may be able to do her Majesty considerable service, which reasons I hope may prevail with the Queen to think it necessary to employ him in the manner I humbly proposed. As for my Lord Forfar, I have spoken to all the Queen's servants, and they are all of opinion that it would be extremely prejudicial to her

Majesty's affairs to make him of the Treasury. I could give your Lordship several reasons not to be answered against it, but I think it is unnecessary to trouble you, since the whole servants are so unanimous in the point; but besides, if her Majesty is pleased to employ the Duke of Queensberry, there will be no vacancy in the Treasury, which indeed I mistook in the list I sent to the Queen, for I said there was one, which your Lordship will find by a list I have enclosed of the Treasury as I proposed it should be established. The reason of my desiring Lord Ross's commission to be sent down blank was, because I was informed he was not inclined to bring his son-in-law to the Parliament, and indeed I do not think he should have that post if he does not, but I am hopeful he will.

Your Lordship has inclosed two letters from the Queen to the Parliament, one relating to the measure of the succession, the other that of the Treaty, and likeways instructions for which of the measures her Majesty is pleased to command us to go upon. I called my Lord Chancellor, Lord Anandell, Lord Register, and Lord Justice Clerk, and desired they might give their opinion which of the two was most proper for the Queen to propose. They did declare their opinions, but not agreeing, I have ordered the Register to give your Lordship an account of what passed at the Conference, and I beg the Queen will be pleased to send her positive command which of the two she will have me proceed upon, and I shall dutifully obey.

I beg leave to assure your Lordship I have a real sense of the honour and favour your Lordship has been pleased to do me in using your interest with the Queen for me in this

of the Peerage of England, and shall think myself happy in an occasion that may enable me to convince your Lordship with how great respect I am, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient
and most humble Servant,
ARGYLL.

June the 7th, 1705.

To Lord Godolphin.

MY LORD,

I did not design to have given your Lordship any trouble till such time as I had a return in relation to the measure her Majesty would have us go upon, but since there is so little time before the Parliament, I beg leave to acquaint your Lordship that I think it for her Majesty's service that she would be pleased to sign a warrant to impower me to give three of the Green Ribbons to the Marquis of Lothian, Earl of Marr, and Earl of Haddington, and the fourth, my Lord Chancellor, both the Secretary and myself think it will be for the honour of the Order that it be given to the Earl of Orrary, who everybody must allow to be a man of most extraordinary worth, and who I am sure will deserve it of her Majesty. My Lord, I hope you will pardon me if the favours I have received from your Lordship encourage me to beg you will be pleased to use your interest with her Majesty for my best friend: I am indeed so much obliged to your Lordship for your late favour that nothing can make me more, but if anything could, it would be this; who am with great respect, my Lord, etc., etc.,

ARGYLL.

June 12, 1705.

To Lord Godolphin.

June 29, 1705.

My Lord,

Yesterday our Parliament met and I adjourned it till Tuesday without reading the Queen's letter, on account of several of the Members not being arrived. I have had occasion, my Lord, lately to discourse with several of the opposing party about affairs, who all say, almost in the same words, they would have gone into a Treaty and given the Queen Cess, if the measure of the succession had been put off till next session of Parliament; and if in the Treaty England had granted anything that was reasonable, they would then have gone into the succession: but since her Majesty has pressed the succession before a Treaty has been set on foot to regulate matters between the two Kingdoms, they will go into neither.

I acquainted the Lords I recommended for the Green Ribbons with her Majesty's answer, but I cannot say they are perfectly easy. I have sent Sir David Nearn two letters about lodgings in the Abbey, one in favour of the Chancellor, and the other of myself as her Majesty's heritable Master [of] Household, which I hope her Majesty will be pleased to sign. I also intreat her Majesty would be pleased to let my brother have the commission for Dunbarton Castle. I do not mean that it should be now made public unless there should some disorder in the country happen, which might require somebody to act in that post, but that he should keep it private till after the Parliament.

I am, my Lord, with great respect, etc., etc.,

Argyll.

Your Lordship may remember I told you in a note of this nature before that ten or twelve thousand pounds given to pay arrears of Pensions would have been much for the Queen's service; and as then I thought, I now find the not granting of it has lost the Queen above twenty votes: this I only tell your Lordship to convince you that I do not presume to offer any advice without having solid ground for it.

To Lord Godolphin.

My Lord,

Finding that in all probability we should on Friday be obliged to proceed to business, I consulted on Thursday with all her Majesty's servants about the method of prosecuting her measures in Parliament, and after having heard them fully I proposed to them that some of them should offer a proposal to the House in these words, "Proposed that the Parliament go into the consideration of such limitations and conditions of Government as shall be judged proper for the next successor in the Protestant line," and that so soon as the Opposing Party should, as I knew they were to do, offer their Resolve, which was, "To proceed before all other business to the consideration of the state of the nation, in relation to Trade and Coin," that then my Lord Annandel, who as being her Majesty's first Secretary of State I had made choice of to deliver our proposal, should speak against resolves in general, but if the House inclined to proceed to business in that we stood, that then he should change the Proposal into a Resolve in this manner,—Resolved, that the

Parliament go into the consideration of such limitations and conditions of Government as shall be judged proper for the next successor in the Protestant line, and that we will, immediately, remit the state of the nation in relation to coin and trade to a Committee.

This, my Lord, was agreed to, and accordingly on Friday, so soon as an election was determined that was appointed for the day, my Lord Annandel offered the Proposal, and my Lord Marshall offered the Resolve of the Opposing Party. I must say my Lord Annandel managed the affair most abominably, for he never added the change at the end till the moment before the vote, so that a great many had not time to comprehend it, and the rest did not so much as hear it, by which mismanagement it proved of no effect, whereas otherwise it might have gone a great way towards taking away the force of their popular Resolve. The debate lasted betwixt four and five hours, and was managed by the Opposing Party with a great deal of calmness. At last the House determined that Lord Marshall's Resolve should be turned into a Proposal, and that then there should be two votes: first, which of the proposals should be received, which was put to the vote, and Lord Marshall's was carried; next, if that Proposal should be gone into only by way of Overture, excluding no other business, or if it should be by way of Resolve, excluding all other business till it was entirely finished; we carried it should be by way of Overture only.

I design as I now have done to continue to let your Lordship know what passes, as literally as possibly I can, that your Lordship may let me have her Majesty's commands. My Lord

Chancellor told me, he would give your Lordship his opinion as to affairs; for my part I dare not venture to offer mine further than to warn your Lordship not to have great regard to what advices may be offered by my Lord Annandel; I know not what they may be, but in general I know perfectly well he has no other aim but to promote the miscarrying of her Majesty's affairs, hoping that if this Parliament should rise in confusion, he might find his own account in it. I have taken no notice to him that I have found him out, but so soon as we meet before your Lordship I shall let him know what I have to say against him.

I have sent Sir David Nearn a signature to present to her Majesty, which I have ordered him to explain to your Lordship to avoid giving you any more trouble at this time.

I am, my Lord, with great respect, etc., etc.,

ARGYLL.

July the 8th, 1705.

To Lord Godolphin.

MY LORD,

That I might not give your Lordship too much trouble I have got the Register to write Sir David Nairn a full account of what passed in Parliament on Tuesday. The Duke of Hamilton proposed the same resolve which was carried last year, and after a long debate it was again carried by about the same number it was last year. I have since called the servants, who are of opinion that an Act should be brought in for a Treaty, which I believe will be done on Friday. I do not trouble her Majesty

because I know your Lordship informs her of what I represent to you.

I am, my Lord, with great respect,
Your Lordship's most obedient and
most humble Servant,

ARGYLL.

July 18, 1705.

To Lord Godolphin.

August the 1*st*, 1705.

MY LORD,

In obedience to her Majesty's commands which your Lordship honoured me with in your letter of the twenty-third of July, we yesterday pressed a first reading to the Act for a Treaty, in opposition to which the Opposing Party proposed the Parliament's going upon the limitations. The debate lasted about five hours, and at last the question was put, proceed to the Treaty or to limitations? and it was carried by three votes to proceed to limitations. Now, my Lord, I think it my duty to lay the following observations before your Lordship, that her Majesty may be fully acquainted with the state of our Parliament.

In the first place, the New Party, as they are pleased to call themselves, joined violently in with the Opposing Party, and Sir John Hume who is a lord of the Treasury, the Earl of Marchmont who has a pension of four hundred pounds a year, the Lord Tessichen who has a company in the Army, all voted against the Queen, and my Lord Lauderdale who has a post in the Mint of six hundred pounds a year, besides his post in the session, and the Earl of Glencairn who is a Lieutenant-Colonel, would not come

to the House, and Mr. Bennit, Muster Master, which is a very profitable post, notwithstanding that I spoke to him three or four times in relation to this measure, thought fit not to vote.

Towards the end of the debate, in answer to some of the New Party who were bawling for the limitations, the Earl of Glasgow desired they would be pleased to explain themselves, much depending upon what the design was of bringing in the limitations at this time, that if they were to be put into an Act of Settlement, and the Protestant Successor named, he would willingly go along with them, but if the design was only to enact limitations, without settling the successor, that then he hoped the House would rather proceed to a Treaty, and so desired them to say if they designed to name the successor, to which they and the Duke of Hamilton answered with a loud No.

In short, my Lord, I think yesterday's vote shows to a demonstration who are for the supporting of her Majesty's Government, and maintaining the peace of the nation, and who aim at nothing but confusion. I assure your Lordship all who have served her Majesty faithfully hope she will be pleased to distinguish them from those in her service who have not, by giving me allowance to assure them she will put them out of her service so soon as the Parliament is at an end.

I had almost forgot to acquaint your Lordship that, though the Earl of Cromarty did himself vote for the Treaty, three or four who do as much depend upon him as any servant in his family all voted against it, and the very people who most opposed the Queen declare a detestation of his treacherous behaviour: the night

before the Treaty was brought in he gave assurances in the most solemn manner not only for himself, but for his dependents, so that if her Majesty is not pleased to make an example of him to frighten others from acting so knavish a part for the future, I am confident it will be a great discouragement to those who serve her Majesty honestly and firmly, and on the other hand may unhappily encourage others to follow his example.

I called her Majesty's servants together this morning, to know what advice they would humbly offer to her Majesty in relation to the present state of affairs. They did agree, my Lord, unanimously without the least difference in opinion that it would be for her Majesty's service to allow the Parliament to sit some time, that we might try if we could retrieve the Treaty, and endeavour to procure a maintenance for the forces. All the inconvenience that we can foresee in its sitting is, that some violent limitations may perhaps be proposed, which we shall oppose with all our power, and though they should unhappily be carried in the House, her Majesty may please not to allow them the Royal assent, but order the Parliament then to be adjourned.

I beg the favour that your Lordship will be pleased to let me know her Majesty's commands and I shall strictly obey them who am with the greatest respect, my Lord, etc., etc.,

ARGYLL.

Both my Lord Justice Clerk's son and son-in-law voted against the Queen, though I believe he undertook for their behaviour to your Lordship.

To Lord Godolphin.

My Lord,

I have been so ill since I was honoured with your Lordship's that I was not in condition to write, but I ordered Sir David Nairn to be fully informed of what passed, that he might lay it before your Lordship, which I hope he has done. I have adjourned the Parliament till Tuesday next, and so soon as the days appointed for limitations are over, we design to put the Treaty and Cess to a trial; what their fate will be I am not able to determine. Some think they will succeed; some think otherwise; but however that chances to fall out I humbly think it will be for the Queen's service that her Majesty would be pleased to have her thoughts of what she will command to be done in case of the worst.

Most part of people here are stark mad, and do not themselves know what they would be at; some proposed t'other day in Parliament to limit the successor by a claim of right, which they pretended a vote of Parliament was sufficient to finish without the Royal assent: this the Dukes of Hamilton and Athol went violently into, and said we could have no other security for our Limitations, for that though we had never so many Acts of Parliament, English influence and English bribery would take them off; and when they found the House did not go into so absurd a proposal, they then proposed the limitations should take place in the Queen's own time: these proposals I believe your Lordship will think were sufficiently disrespectful to her Majesty though couched under the civilest words, but their Graces took care their

words and matter should be of a piece. I thought it fit to acquaint your Lordship with this, it being something extraordinary.

I am, my Lord, with great respect, etc., etc.,

ARGYLL.

August 18, 1705.

To Lord Godolphin.

MY LORD,

Since I last did myself the honour to write to your Lordship the Triennial Act is passed the House, and since we have brought in the Cess and Treaty, and after a long debate there was a proposal offered to this purpose, that the House should agree to give the Act of Cess a first reading, but that it should not have a second till the affair of the Treaty was finished, and such Acts that any way related to it, to which was added a general clause to this purpose, "and likewise such other Acts as shall be found proper to regulate our export and import." This general clause, it was argued, might comprehend as many Acts as any one might think fit to offer to the House, and therefore was an exclusion of the Cess, for which reason it was proposed that the House should agree to the first part, the overture, and that the general clause at the end should be laid aside. This was argued some time, and at last it was put to the vote, add the general clause or no? and it was carried by thirty-six votes that it should not be added, so the Cess Act was marked a first reading, and yesterday we went upon the Treaty. The Opposing Party were divided; some were against treating upon any terms, and others were for not treating till

the English Act should be rescinded. We sate very late, but came to no vote. The Opposing Party depend mostly upon shifting of business, knowing that the funds of the Army being run out a delay is equal with a refusal.

I forgot to acquaint your Lordship with a question the Duke of Hamilton was pleased to ask the Chancellor in Parliament when we first came upon the Treaty some time ago. It was talking of the clause in the English Act declaring the Scotch aliens: he desired to know that if we were to be no more natural-born subjects of England after the 25th of December next, to whom then he owed his allegiance? he was answered, to the Queen. This I thought it would be convenient her Majesty should know.

I have sent her Majesty with this express a memorial signed by her servants in relation to two Acts of Trade, which were not included in my instructions, and I beg her Majesty may be pleased to let me have her commands in that matter.

As to what your Lordship was pleased to mention to me about my Lord Annandaile, his complaint is scandalously groundless; and to let your Lordship know what moved him to pretend to the disposal of the Clerkship of the Council, it was in order to sell it, and was so far advanced in the matter that he made a bargain with me to receive five hundred pound for that Commission; and as for that frivolous argument of his of that post's being in the gift of the Secretary, it is a mistake, but besides if it were at their disposal the Earl of Lowdan consented to its being disposed of in the manner I proposed. I believe, my Lord, this is not the only attack the Marquess has made upon me

underhand, for I should never have heard of this if your Lordship had not honoured me so far as to let me know it; but what I lay to his charge I shall tell him to his face before your Lordship, for it is not my way to say anything but what I own.

I have nothing more to trouble your Lordship with at present, and am, my Lord, with the greatest respect, etc., etc.,

ARGYLL.

EDINBURGH,
August 26, 1705.

To Lord Godolphin.

MY LORD,

The Earl of Loudan wrote your Lordship an account of what is past, and so I shall delay giving your Lordship a full account till next post. The Opposing Party is much dejected, and I think there is now a prospect of a happy end of this Parliament. I must beg leave, my Lord, to recommend the Duke of Duglas to her Majesty's favour; the Duke of Queensberry will let your Lordship know his affair, and I humbly beg your Lordship's assistance in it who am, with the greatest respect, my Lord,

Etc., etc.,

ARGYLL.

EDINBURGH,
September 2, 1705.

To Lord Godolphin.

MY LORD,

Since I did myself the honour to write to your Lordship, the Opposing Party's have struggled with all their force to delay our coming to the Cess; but in spite of all opposition

we brought it in yesterday, and carried six months' Cess for the Army and two Frigates formerly maintained, and a seventh month to maintain an additional forty gunships and two small vessels on the West Coast, to hinder the importation of prohibited goods; this was carried with very little opposition by reason of the Opposing Party's being dispirited with their having lost every vote since the Treaty was brought in, so your Lordship sees, notwithstanding the infinite number of difficulties we have had to struggle with, this Session of Parliament will I hope now end to her Majesty's satisfaction. There are two Acts passed since the Treaty, one for encouraging the exportation of beef and pork, and another declaring linen and woollen manufactures free of duty at exportation: these two Acts the servants are unanimously of opinion should have the Royal assent; and there are two more which will, in all probability, pass the House, one for hindering the importation of foreign leather, and the other appointing this Nation's having an Ambassador at all general Treaties.

As for the Leather Act, I must own I think it very necessary for the nation, and so do the rest of the servants. For that of the Ambassador, since the Parliament says they will provide a fund for his maintenance, I believe her Majesty will incline to pass it. I hope your Lordship will let me have her Majesty's commands as to these four Acts, and to what time her Majesty will have the Parliament adjourned to, all business now being over, and your Lordship knows it is dangerous to continue sitting when there is nothing to do.

Now, my Lord, that the Parliament is in a

manner at an end, I think myself bound in duty to let your Lordship know it is humbly my opinion that it is absolutely necessary for her Majesty's service that the Marquis of Annandel be removed from his post as Secretary back to his former post of President of the Council, in case her Majesty thinks it fit he should at all be in her service. My reasons are that he has acted a very unfair part this whole session by underhand caballing with the Opposing Party's, and laying schemes to destroy the Queen's business; the truth of this I have learnt from persons who have been ear-witnesses. Besides, my Lord, if her Majesty should incline to forgive what is past, which I hope she will not, it will be impossible for the rest of her Majesty's servants to live with him, if he should continue in a post of so much power as that of the Secretary, for he is in mortal enmity with us all, particularly the Chancellor, the Duke of Queensberry, the Earl of Lowdon, the Register, and myself, and his peaks to my Lord Stairs's family in general I believe are not unknown to your Lordship; his unreasonable pretensions will likewise give her Majesty an eternal uneasiness, and your Lordship may assure yourself, notwithstanding how little able he is to make any returns to her Majesty for her bounties to him, he never will be satisfied so long as her Majesty has anything to give. The person we have agreed humbly to recommend to her Majesty to succeed him is the Earl of Marr, who has done her Majesty very good service in this Parliament; this if her Majesty is pleased to grant will make her Ministry entirely of a piece, and able to resist all opposition, and if otherwise I am satisfied your

Lordship will in a very short time see the bad effects of it.

I do not, my Lord, desire the Marquis of Annandail should be President of the Council because I think him fit for that either, but only as the best of two evils, for I would much rather he were in no post; and I am positive it would be agreeable to the whole nation, for there is no man whatsoever more generally hated; for these reasons, my Lord, I hope her Majesty will allow the Earl of Marr to have the Commission before I go from hence, that my Lord Annandel may not go to London to trouble her Majesty.

I have desired Sir David Nairn to carry a commission for my brother to be governor of Dumbarton Castle, that difficulty of disposing of it while the Parliament was sitting being now over. I hope too, my Lord, her Majesty will now be pleased to let me have a Commission for giving the Green Ribbons as I before proposed, and as I understood by your Lordship's letter her Majesty was pleased to consent; that to the Earl of Orrery I humbly beg her Majesty will be pleased to give at the same time she sends me the Commission to give the others, to the Marquis of Lothian and the Earl of Marr. As for the fourth, which I proposed for the Earle of Haddington, I cannot omit acquainting your Lordship that he has not gone along in her Majesty's measures as I expected, therefore I believe her Majesty may incline to delay the giving it for some time.

I am, my Lord,

With the greatest respect, etc., etc.,

ARGYLL.

EDINBURGH,
Sept. 9, 1705.

Since my writing this letter General Ramsy is dead. I hope her Majesty will not dispose of his posts till such time as my lord Duke of Marlborough comes over, and if anybody in this kingdom should pretend to them I believe your Lordship will think it reasonable I should give her Majesty an account how everybody has behaved, before she is pleased to give them new trusts.

To Lord Godolphin.

EDINBURGH, *Sept.* 22, 1705.

MY LORD,

I consulted with her Majesty's servants yesterday morning, and by their advice adjourned the Parliament to the twentieth of December. It ended with all the decency imaginable, which has been very unusual of late.

It is a great satisfaction to all of us here, that her Majesty is pleased to approve of the proposal for removing my Lord Annandel from his post of Secretary; but I assure your Lordship if it be not done without allowing my Lord Annandel to go to London, it will prove more uneasy to her Majesty and your Lordship than you can possibly imagine; besides that, it will certainly put my Lord Annandel more out of humour, to be at the expense and trouble of going up to London with his family with a view of settling there, and then immediately to be sent down again, than that the alteration should be made here, which will have this good effect too, that it will put an immediate stop to his endeavours of raising factions and divisions among the Queen's servants, who your Lordship will find perfectly united if this alteration be

suddenly made. This, my Lord, is not my opinion alone, which makes me hope it will have the more weight. I design to stay here till I am honoured with an answer, because I think it is of the greatest consequence to her Majesty's service that my Lord Marr have his commission here.

I am, my Lord, etc., etc.,

ARGYLL.

To Lord Godolphin.

MY LORD,

I received the honour of your Lordship's from Newmarket, and at the same time the Commissions to the Marquis of Annandel and Earl of Marr. The Marquis refused his, and said he designed to go to London to wait on her Majesty. I acquainted the servants with his refusal, and they are all of opinion that if he does go to London, it will not be for her Majesty's service that he should meet with a good reception, because that might make him insolent, whereas if he be made sensible that her Majesty is displeased with his behaviour in this affair your Lordship will find him very humble. I design to begin my journey on Monday or Tuesday next at farthest. If my Lord Annandale should alter his resolution before I goe, I shall take the advice of all her Majesty's servants in relation to him and act accordingly.

I am, with the greatest respect, your Lordship's most obedient and most humble Servant,

ARGYLL.

EDINBURGH,
October 5, 1705.

To Lord Godolphin.

My Lord,

I have been honoured with your Lordship's. I am glad her Majesty has been pleased to think the reasons humbly offered for my brother's being made a peer sufficient, for by this goodness of her Majesty's my family will be represented as well as others in case the Union succeeds. I protest, my Lord, I don't know in what manner to thank her Majesty for this late favour, for I was before so much obliged to her that I had already devoted my life and fortune to her service. I suppose, my Lord, the Ministry gives your Lordship accounts of what passes here in affairs, and I hope they do me the justice to let you know with what zeal I serve her Majesty and what assistance I give them in her service. I won't give your Lordship the trouble of compliments; it is impossible to be more sensible than I am of the obligations I owe to you, and your Lordship shall always find me with the greatest respect imaginable, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient and
most humble Servant,

Argyll.

Edinburgh, *Oct.* 25*th*, 1706.

To Lord Godolphin.

My Lord,

There has been so little done, and there are so many of the Queen's servants who I don't doubt acquaint your Lordship with what happens, that I am unwilling to give you any trouble. I believe your Lordship is not a little uneasy at the slowness of our proceedings; we

have in about a month got no farther than the first article, and I think I may say even that is not approved of in the manner it deserved. Your Lordship knows I told you there would be the greatest difficulty imaginable in bringing this matter to a happy conclusion, at a time when other people gave you great hopes. I wish with all my heart I may have been mistaken. What I suppose drew those gentlemen into the opinion of its being an easy matter, was the number of Parliament men who declared themselves to be for a Union in general, and what made me of the contrary opinion was my knowing that a great many of those members were for stretching the terms so high that England could not possibly agree to them. It shows your Lordship that this is stating the case fairly. I will venture to assure you that if all those by whom we carried the question, and who declared in the House they were for alterations in the articles, had voted against us, we had lost it. As for the disturbances in the country, I have not the same dismal view of them that I find some people have; for since there is a set of people who are resolved to come to open violence rather than allow of any settlement, I think they never could show themselves better than now.

My Lord Commissioner did me the favour to allow me to read your Lordship's letter, by which I am overjoyed to find I have been of your Lordship's opinion ever since I came hither, and the Ministry knows it to be so: last Saturday we happened not to be all of the same opinion in relation to the delay of that night. My Lord Chancellor and I were against the delay and opposed it all we could. I believe it will be allowed by all sides that I told the House my

opinion of the insolent manner in which the Opposers demanded the delay in as plain words as could be spoke, but my Lord Montrose and some of the rest of the Queen's servants thinking a delay more for her interest we were obliged to submit. Your Lordship will see the list of the vote printed by Order of Parliament, by which I hope to convince your Lordship that I have not only acted as I was in duty bound to the Queen and my country, but that I have likeways been so happy as to prevail with several people to lay aside both their prejudices and disobligations for her Majesty's and the common good of the whole Island. It is not, my Lord, to be imagined how much our business suffers by the Opposers being allowed to break the codes of the House; this, my Lord Chancellor, who I must own is indeed very zealous in the Queen's service, does all he can to prevent, but I could wish the rest of the servants were a little more forward in supporting him in his duty; and as I am confident they are as heartily for the Union as the Opposers are against it, they would show as much warmth in the promoting of it, as the others do in opposing it; this, my Lord, I am preaching to them every day, and I am sure I give them as good an example as I can.

I have now, my Lord, been here about a month, which time when I came from London I thought might have ended the business; but upon the foot affairs now are, for my part I protest I don't know when this Parliament may end. However, my Lord, I shall have patience as long as I can; but indeed if there should be a likelyhood of its sitting all winter, I shall be very much puzzled what to do. My Lord, I

hope you'll pardon the length of this letter who am with the greatest respect, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient and most humble Servant,

ARGYLL.

EDINBURGH,
November 6, 1706.

The Earl of Leven to Lord Godolphin.

MY LORD,

I had acknowledged the honour of your Lordship's of 27 July sooner but that I was still waiting for and expecting an end to this session, that I might give your Lordship some account of what was proposed and how matters went in Parliament, since the Act of Supply was past. I must own I have been very much surprised at the continuance of this session, nor can I imagine what arguments have been made use of to obtain it, for I think it can hardly be pretended that there has been any thing offered by those who had the management either for the advantage of the Crown, or for the good of the country, and I am afraid the countenance the Ministry gave to some acts, such as that for augmenting the number of Barons, and that for free voting, and the voting for a first reading to them, may be of bad consequence, in an ensuing session of Parliament, and it's certain that had not the managers joined in those votes the opposing party had not been able to carry it. There was also a great many days spent on the public accounts, and almost to no purpose, and at last without doing anything

therein they were remitted to a committee of Parliament; and as for our Resolve, with relation to the House of Peers the enquiry into the plot, or our address to her Majesty so far as it relates to the said resolve, I think neither of them were very seasonable, or proper introductions to a treaty with England: and why there was neither Commissioners named by the Parliament nor a power given to the Queen to name them seems to me to have been a great neglect in our Statesmen. I fear I have gone too far, but my duty to my Soverain and my love for my country will, I hope, excuse my concern for the good of both, and obtain your Lordship's pardon for writing so freely.

My Lord, I esteem myself very happy under your Lordship's protection; I beg the continuance of your favour, and I most humbly entreat your assistance at present in recommending me to her Majesty. The Queen was pleased, my Lord, to allow me the honour to kiss her hands as governor of the Castle of Edinburgh and as master of her ordinance when I was last at London, but at the same time her Majesty told me she would not declare her pleasure therein till after the Parliament, and therefore I thought myself obliged to be altogether silent and not to mention it to any person, but now I have presumed to write to her Majesty to put her in mind of what her Majesty was pleased to put me in hope of, and therefore I could forbear no longer in acquainting your Lordship thereof. I doubt not but by your Lordship's assistance to get a gracious and favourable answer from her Majesty: what your Lordship is pleased to do for me at present when I apply to none but yourself, as I will owe it entirely to your Lordship,

so it will be an infinite obligation done to, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most humble, most
obedient and most obliged Servant,
LEVEN.

Sept. 26 [1704].

To Lord Godolphin.

MY LORD,

Every time I have the honour to hear from your Lordship I have new proofs of your favour and friendship; for all which I return your Lordship my most humble thanks. I am deeply sensible of the great honour her Majesty has been pleased to put upon me by giving me the command of Edinburgh Castle. I assure your Lordship I will endeavour to carry so in the discharge of this great trust as to convince her Majesty more and more of my zeal for and faithfulness in her service. What your Lordship is pleased to write concerning the matter of Ordnance I most willingly submit to: I must only beg that your Lordship will be pleased to mind it again when it is proper. I also most humbly entreat the continuance of your favour and that I may be still under your protection, whereby your Lordship will infinitely oblige, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most humble, most
obedient and most obliged Servant,
LEVEN.

EDINBURGH,
October 26.

To Lord Godolphin.

MY LORD,

I have not given your Lordship any trouble of this sort for some time, nothing having

occurred here worth your notice; but now that we are entering upon business, I hope your Lordship will not take it ill if I make use of the privilege you have formerly allowed me in giving your Lordship sometimes accounts how matters goes.

My Lord Commissioner has since his arrival called some of the Queen's servants and of his friends together, and has discoursed with them on what was fit to be done for promoting of the Queen's service, and particularly whether the making changes in the Ministry at present was advisable or not; and after that matter was fully considered, all were of opinion it was most necessary for carrying on of her Majesty's service that changes be made, and that the Marquis of Tweeddale and those that were brought in with him should be laid aside, because unless the Ministry be united there can be no hope of success; my Lord Commissioner being to write fully to your Lordship in this matter, I need not enlarge any further. I must intreat of your Lordship that you will be pleased to assure her Majesty of my firm resolution to bestir myself to the utmost of my power for her interest and service on every occasion, and although the new mark of her Royal favour, in making me Master of Ordnance, cannot decrease my zeal, yet it brings me under new obligations to be vigorous in her Majesty's service, and I must own I want words to express the sense I have of this undeserved bounty.

My Lord, I must beg the continuance of your Lordship's favour and protection, and believe that I am most sensible of the honour your Lordship has done me by giving me so much countenance and assistance, which I shall ever

acknowledge and shall give no further trouble at present but beg pardon for so long a letter.

I am, my Lord, etc., etc.,

LEVEN.

EDINBURGH CASTLE,
April 26 [1705].

To Lord Godolphin.

MY LORD,

Since your Lordship has been so obliging formerly as to allow of my writing sometimes to you not only in public concerns but even in my own private affairs, I most earnestly beg your Lordship to pardon my presumption in continuing myself in the possession of so valuable a privilege, and therefore pray give me leave, my Lord, to give you some account of our affairs.

The first two or three days of the Parliament there was nothing worth your Lordship's notice, being mostly taken up in some necessary forms: but yesterday being appointed for taking the Treaty under consideration, there arose a great debate whether we should proceed thereto or delay the same for a week longer; the opposing party pressed hard for a delay, and we stood close to the former resolution of the House, which was to proceed. This at last came to a question, or as we call it to a vote, and we carried to proceed immediately to the consideration of the Treaty by a majority of sixty-six. This was certainly a party vote, and so gives us great encouragement to hope for a good success.

My Lord, I need not tell your Lordship how diligent the Queen's servants have been since th^r return from England to persuade members of Parliament to go into the present measure; the event I hope will show that sufficiently: nor shall I say anything of my own weak

endeavours to promote this great work, but shall refer that entirely to my Lord Commissioner and others who have been witnesses to my actings in that matter. I shall not take more of your Lordship's time at present, only beg leave to make my acknowledgments for all your favours, and leave also to beg the continuance of your Lordship's protection to, my Lord, etc., etc.,

LEVEN.

Oct. 16, 1706.

To Lord Godolphin.

MY LORD,

I did myself the honour a week agone to write to your Lordship, and therefore should not have given you any trouble of this sort so soon, had there not something fallen out since my last which I think myself obliged in duty to make known to her Majesty, and beg leave to do it by your Lordship rather [than] to give her Majesty the trouble of an immediate address to herself.

In my last I gave your Lordship an account how our affairs were going in Parliament and that we had an undoubted majority who favoured the Union. The opposing party are so sensible of this that it's their great study to delay and by continual speaking (which they call privilege of Parliament) prevent proceeding in business, and they are now also betaking themselves to other methods of endeavouring all they can to give a bad impression of the Union to the people both in country and city. There has been for several Parliament days some appearance of and inclination to a mob in the streets, and particularly by several hundred crowding about the Duke of Hamilton

in his going to and coming from the House. At first they were very young boys, but for some days past there were a great many men also amongst them, and as they went along the streets there were repeated huzzas and acclamations of praise to his grace by those his rabble attendants. This on Wednesday last came yet to a greater height, for they not only attended the Duke of Hamilton in his coming to the House, but gave such loud huzzas when his grace entered the House as were heard by all the members when sitting on their benches, and all the hours the Parliament sat the most part of this rabble continued about the entry: and the House sitting that day till candles were brought in, the mob began to turn unsafe: and it seems believing that we were going to some important vote, they attempted to break open one of the doors of the House, and beat two or three sentinels from it of my lord Constable's guards whose privilege it is to guard the entry to the House.

What was acting without doors being submitted to some of the members, there was an overture made by them to adjourn the debate then in hand because it was late, which was immediately agreed to by the House; which prevented any further disorder at that time. However when the Duke of Hamilton came out they gathered about his chair to the number of four or five hundred, and accompanied his grace first to the Duke of Athol's lodgings, and waiting till he came out again attended him from that till he came near his own lodging in the Abbey, where I had ordered them to be stopped by the guards; from this they went up and down the City for

several hours, and at last got a drum or two and beat to arms, and about the same time some of them went to Sir Patrick Johnston's house and attempted to break open his doors, threatening to murder him for his betraying his country by being for the Union.

They committed a great many other insolencies on the street by upbraiding them as villains and rascals who they judged were for the Union; the President of the Council, the Duke of Argyll and the two Secretaries were so treated by them as they passed through the streets. The magistrates of Edinburgh did what they could to suppress this tumult, but neither the authority nor the guards were sufficient to do it, which obliged his grace my Lord Commissioner to command me to send immediately some of her Majesty's forces into the City, which accordingly was done, and I had no sooner secured the gate that leads into the City but they began to disperse; however I placed several other guards in proper places for the preventing of any future disorder.

Next day my Lord Commissioner called a Council, who ordered the continuing of the forces within the town until the Parliament should be acquainted; and yesterday when the Parliament met, the Chancellor by order of the Council acquainted the House of the tumult that had happened since their last sitting, and what the Council had done thereupon, and thereafter it was proposed that the thanks of the House should be given to the government for their care, and that what they had done should also be approved of: the first part of this proposal met with no great opposition, but the opposing party were all against the

second because that that did homologate the bringing in of regular troops within the City, which they pretended was not only against the privilege of the City but was also against the privilege of Parliament and the freedom thereof. This after some debate was brought to a question, to approve or not of what the Council had done, which carried in the affirmative by fifty-six votes: thus stands our affairs at present.

I am credibly informed that the opposing party are endeavouring all they can to get addresses from all places of the country to be presented to the Parliament by great numbers of the gentry and common; the address is to be against the Union. Whether this may only be to frighten the Parliament and show the inclination of so many men against the Union, or if it may not also be a pretence to bring multitudes of people to the town on some other designs after they are so got together, I shall not take upon me to determine: but this I must say, that some men's actings doe look as if they were resolved to stick at nothing: it's likeways surmised as if there were design in drawing some men together both in the Highlands and in some places of the low country.

I wish those reports may prove false, but I could not forbear mentioning them since I have heard so much thereof.

Now, my Lord, although it were great presumption in me to pretend to give advice, yet my zeal and concern for the good of her Majesty's service forces me to suggest to your Lordship that I humbly conceive it would be of great advantage to have some forces in the North of England near the border, for the troops here are few in number, and if any

LORD LEVEN
1706

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disorder should fall out a great part of them would be necessary to protect the government and to keep the peace of this place.

Pray pardon this tedious account to, my Lord,

Your Lordship's, etc., etc.,

LEVEN.

October 26, 1706.

Letter among Lord Godolphin's Papers.

October 26, 1706.

HONOURED SIR,

I had the honour of your obliging letter of the 7th October. I wish I deserved the good opinion you hold of me; I should then be in hopes of the continuance of your esteem, which I am still afraid upon better acquaintance I may be in hazard of losing; however I do assure you I will by all means I am capable endeavour to preserve the friendship of a person I so highly value and honour.

Since I left England I have used my outmost indeavours to persuade people, especially the members of Parliament, of the advantages of an union with England, and I think I may say without vanity that I have influenced as many to go in to that measure as any one of her Majesty's servants, and indeed the majority that appears for it in the House doth sufficiently show the diligence of all her Majesty's servants in that matter. Our Parliament has formerly been considered as of three parties, one called the Court, another the Cavalier or Jacobite party, and a third commonly called the Marquis of Tweeddale's party or the flying squadron. This last party was always small, never exceeding fifteen or sixteen; however in former sessions

of Parliament the two parties were for the most part so unequal that this party pretended to make the majority incline to that side they pleased; but now by the Marquis of Montrose joining with us that party did not only lose him but two or three whom he influenced; and besides this we have found ways since we came from England to persuade several of that party to join with us in the matter of the Union, so that the Marquis of Tweeddale, Earls of Roxburgh, Rothesay, and Haddington found themselves deserted by almost all that party, yet I presumed with alway prevailing argument to make them to join with us at present, least otherways they had appeared to be no party at all. However we are willing to give fair countenance to everybody that will join with us, but I hope they will not pretend that the joining with us was any ways necessary towards the making of a majority, as may be obvious by our having above fifty votes besides them more than the opposing party. Notwithstanding of all this we are not able to make any great progress or dispatch in business, for the opposing party by continual speaking one after another do take up the whole day, so that frequently the House is forced to adjourn the debate till next day, and so whole days spent without being able to come to one vote.

There have been great endeavours used by the opposing party, and with too much success, to create prejudice in the minds of the people against the Union; this we have account of from all orders of the country, and some of the meaner sort in and about town have been drawing together in crowds upon the streets

and have for several days past attended the Duke of Hamilton both in his going to the House and in his return.

At first most part of his attendants were children and boys, but on Wednesday last his grace came to the House attended by a great many, most of them being men, who at his entering they gave him several huzzas which we heard sitting on our benches. This rabble continued about the entry all the time that Parliament did sit, and at last apprehending it seems that the House was going to vote some matter of importance, endeavoured to break open one of the doors, and beat down some sentinels of my Lord Constable's guards; some of the House being privately acquainted with this disorder proposed to adjourn debate that was then in hand till next day, while everybody went willingly into it being late without knowing the real cause.

After the Parliament was up the Duke of Hamilton, who stays always last in the House because of a strain he hath got in his foot that obligeth him to be carried in a chair, when he came out, the rabble then to the number of four or five hundred greeted him with acclamations and huzzas and attended him through all the streets to his lodgings, and that after running up and down the streets for several hours committing several disorders, insulting everybody they met with whom they judged favourers of the Union: they threatened the Marquis of Montrose, who is President of the Council, and the Duke of Argyll, and both the Secretaries at the same rate; they also got drums and beat through the streets, and some of them went to Sir Patrick Johnstone's

house and endeavoured to break open his doors, threatening to murder him as a betrayer of his country in being for the Union.

The Magistrates of the city not being able to suppress the tumult, his Grace my Lord Commissioner and some of the Council ordered me to send some of the Queen's forces into the town, which I immediately obeyed, and I had no sooner taken possession of the gate called the neatherbow gate—the entry from the abbey to the town—but the mob began to disperse. However in prosecution of my orders I put guards in several places of the town. The council met next morning, and did not only approve of what had been done the night before for suppressing the mob, but ordered the continuing of the forces within the town, and ordered my Lord Chancellor to acquaint the House so soon as they should meet with what had happened since their last meeting, which the Lord Chancellor did accordingly yesterday, and it being thereafter proposed that the thanks of the House should be returned to the Government for their care in suppressing the mob, and for preventing of the like for the future, and also that what they had done should be approved of by the Parliament.

This was the occasion of several hours' debate, the opposing party being mightily alarmed and being uneasy because of any of the forces being within the town, alleging that it was both against the privilege and liberty of the city, and liberty and freedom of Parliament, and therefore struggled what they could against the approving of what the Council had done. However at last it came to a question approved or not, which carried in the affirmative by a majority

of fifty and six votes; and so the guards do continue in town, without which I really believe many of the members would be insulted, and perhaps in hazard of their lives, for there is a mighty ferment upon the spirits of many of the tradesmen in and about the town.

I hear there is now a project on foot to get addresses to the Parliament from all corners of the country against the Union, and that there will be great endeavours used to get multitudes of hands to them, and that those addresses are not to be presented to the Parliament by single persons deputed by the rest but by great multitudes of people. What these people may undertake after they are so met together is hard to determine.

This is all the account I can give at present; what occurs from time to time here worth notice you shall be acquainted with if you please to command, Sir,

Your most humble and most obedient Servant, LEVEN.

Pray excuse my making use of another hand; my own is so slow that I should not have been able to write so much in a whole day.

To Lord Godolphin.

MY LORD,

This serves to acknowledge the honour of your Lordship's of 31st Oct. There is a memorial to be sent to your Lordship by this flying pacquet relative to our affairs as they stand at present, and therefore I need not give your Lordship any trouble on that head. All is quiet here ever since my last. However I

cannot say that the ferment does abate, but rather on the contrary; and this is certain, that there are a great many people coming every day to town who have no business in it, and whom we know are disaffected to the Queen and Government, and who declare themselves enemies to the Union. This makes me take all the precautions that are possible to prevent any bad consequences.

I am glad that her Majesty has ordered any forces towards the borders and North of Ireland, for nothing encourages men more to undertake desperate courses than the hope of small opposition.

I esteem myself highly honoured by her Majesty in that she is pleased to allow your Lordship to tell me that she is fortified with my weak endeavours for the preservation of the peace. I do assure your Lordship nothing shall be wanting on my part so far as I am capable to advance her Majesty's service.

I am, my Lord, etc., etc.,

LEVEN.

Nov. 5th.

To Lord Godolphin.

MY LORD,

I was resolved to have given your Lordship no trouble in my own concerns before my Lord Duke of Marlborough's return to England, but having lately received the honour of a very kind and obliging letter from his Grace wherein he pleased to tell me that he has laid my pretensions before the Queen, and that he has recommended me very favourably to her Majesty, this makes me hope your Lordship will allow me to address myself to you at present, humbly

begging that your Lordship may be pleased to speak to her Majesty in my favour, for perhaps her Majesty may be persuaded to determine as to the choice of one to command the forces here; even before the Duke of Marlborough's return, seeing her Majesty knows, as I presume, his Grace's opinion in that matter; and if your Lordship will give yourself the trouble to concern yourself for me and to propose to the Queen the signing of a Commission for me, I doubt not but that your Lordship will have influence enough to obtain it; but I leave the management of this affair entirely upon your Lordship: you will best know when it's fit to move therein.

My Lord, there are some vacancies in the Army, and I am told there are changes of officers designed to be proposed, from one Regiment to another. But in my humble opinion it will be for her Majesty's service that anything of that sort or what relates to the Establishment of the Army be delayed until his grace the Duke of Marlborough's opinion be taken and until there be a general appointed by her Majesty.

My Lord, the honour of your last letter to me, as it gave me new assurances of your friendship and protection, so it obliges me to make new acknowledgments, and since there's nothing else in my power I beg it may be accepted of by your Lordship as it is sincerely offered by, my Lord,

Your Lordship's most humble, etc., etc.,

LEVEN.

November 15, 1706.

Notes on Foregoing Letters.

The Duke of Argyll's desire to have an English Earldom arose from his wish to take part in the

debates on the Union in London, and without an English peerage he could not have done so.

It may make the condition of affairs spoken of in these letters more clear if a brief summary be given of the character of the parties and men with whom he had to deal as Commissioner to the Scottish Parliament. His position in advocating the Union made him unpopular for a time with the Edinburgh people, who had "the pride of the meaner place" in desiring no Union.

The Duke had great powers: "The Queen has been pleased to give me full power to pass such acts as may be for the good of the Nation," he said in his speech to "the Estates of Parliament." Her Majesty recommends to you "two expedients. . . . In the first place, your settling the succession in the Protestant Line. . . . In the second place, a Treaty with England."

What were the parties in this "House of Estates"? First, there was the Court Party, called by their rivals mere place-hunters. Secondly, the Country Party, who called themselves so in opposition to England's alleged encroachments on Scottish trade as shown in hostility to Scotland's Darien colonisation scheme. They were mostly Presbyterians. The Duke of Hamilton and the Fletchers of Salton were their chiefs, and spoke much of the ancient constitution, liberty, and independency of their ancient kingdom. The third party was called that of the Cavaliers. These belonged chiefly to the Episcopalian Church, were in favour of the Stuart succession, and disliked the Revolution and the Presbyterian Established Church. They worked with the Country Party in crying out that Scotland had grievances—in short

they were anti-Whig. The Duke of Athole and Lord Hume were the leaders of this section, careless of liberty so long as they observed what used to be called legitimacy in the succession to the Crown.

Then there was a fourth party which was called the Flying Squadron, under the guidance of Lord Tweeddale. It was said that they would join no party, wishing to keep the balance, desiring influence at Court, and so gain better terms. Their opponents called them mercenary, and they were not held to have much weight.

The Duke of Queensberry was valued by the Government in London as the best man after the Duke of Argyll. He was not so industrious, but had much popularity from his good manner and address. He was always wanting money because he spent it so freely. Of course his enemies said that he was a humbug, as is the modern phrase, and that he was underhand in his work.

Lord Seafield was disliked because he was disloyal to his Scots countrymen in the matter of "that glorious undertaking."

The Duke of Hamilton was a courtier with King Charles and King James, and was a general of cavalry under James. He would not serve King William, but was returned for Parliament. "It was thought that his too great concern for his estate in England occasioned lukewarmness in his opposition to the Union."

Fletcher of Salton had an adventurous life. He was one of Monmouth's companions in his expedition against James II., but escaped the Duke's fate, to come over with the Prince of Orange, and was the trusted adviser of that Prince when he reigned as William III.

The Duke of Athole was a leader of the Cavaliers and also of "the Country Party, hostile to the Union." From having been at one time a Whig Revolutionist, he became a professed Jacobite.

The Marquis of Tweeddale was the leader of the "Squadrone volante," and "as his party had appeared zealous patriots in 1703 and courtiers in 1704, neither party would trust them."

The "limitations" to the Treaty of Union mentioned in these letters were that Parliament was to appoint all officers of state, Privy Councillors, and Judges. Parliaments were to be triennial. Scots Ambassadors were to be present when any foreign treaty was negotiated.

It was two years after these debates that the incorporating Act of Union was carried.

So ends the correspondence regarding the Union. The next letter shows the work of consolidating the Union ten years later.

DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE JACOBITE WARS IN 1716 AND 1745

Letter dated from the Island of Mull to the Provost of Inveraray.

My Lord Provost and Gentlemen,

In my letter to you from this place of the 6th instant I gave account of the situation of affairs in this Island at that time. But I find the allarming accounts of the Rebells drawing to a Body again are groundless. Locheill did indeed convene all his people, but was not joined by any other Clan, and how soon Coll: Clayton with his Detachment had marched the length of his house at Auchnacarry, and was going to put military Laws in Execution by burning that House and all the other houses in the Country, Locheill sent him a message that he would cause his men delyver their arms, and accordingly next day he sent in a good part of his people with their arms, and the rest to be in upon Monday last. Keppoch after a great many Bragadocios did the lyke, and he said Glengarry was to follow their example, and further was to surrender himself prisoner to General Cadogan, so that the Peace of that part of the Country seems again to be restored.

General Cadogan was expected to be at Fort William last night. How soon he comes there it's thought Coll: Clayton will be sent with his

detachment to the Western Isles. The Deputy Lieutenants have done all that was to be done in this Country (except the reducing of Kerubalag [Carnburg, one of the Treshnish Islands, a place garrisoned by MacLeans, and of great strength]), which will save the King's troops a great deal of fatigue, for it does not appear that now it will be necessary for them to send any party to this Island [Mull]. We resolve to go this day from this to Morvern and the rest of the Duke's [Argyll's] property in order to disarm them before Clayton's detachment can come up. Loch Buy was very angry his arms should be demanded, and gave in a sort of memorial wherein he represents that he rather expected thanks from the Government than to be looked upon as a disaffected person. The Deputies upon this allowed him to keep his arms till there were particular orders about him. I have sent his memorial to the Earl of Islay [afterwards 3rd Duke of Argyll], who no doubt will give such orders as he thinks propper in that matter. For soon as I am in Morvern, I will write what passes there, and I am with great Respect, My Lord Provost and Gentlemen,

Y^r most obed^t & faithfull Humble Servant,

JA. CAMPBELL.

DOWART CASTLE,
11*th April*, 1716.

Again in 1745 *the Protestant Succession was menaced, and these notes trace the movements of the* 4*th and* 5*th Dukes when Generals Campbell in* 1745–6 (*extracted from the "Gentleman's Magazine"*).

Inveraray, Dec. 22, 1745.—Major-General Campbell arrived here last night, and proposes

on Monday next to begin to march 600 men from hence in 3 divisions to join General Blakeney at Stirling. 450 men have been raised at Campbeltown, and are ready to march on one day's notice for His Majesty's service.

Edinburgh, Dec. 26, 1745.—The van of the rebel army entered Glasgow yesterday. . . . General Campbell arrived some days ago at Campbeltown, from whence he went to Inveraray.

Edinburgh, Jan. 2, 1746.—The Argyllshire men are now ready to co-operate with our troops.

Newcastle, Jan. 4, 1746.—The Regiments of Scots Fusiliers and "Sempil" will be here on the 6th, which after resting one day, will proceed to Edinburgh, to join General Hawley's body, which will then consist of 3 Regiments of Dragoons, and fourteen battalions besides the Country forces. [It was this force that the Argyllshire men joined at Falkirk.]

Dumbarton, Jan. 8, 1746.—Lieutenant-Col. John Campbell arrived here last night to take the command of the 700 men who are quartered here, consisting of 3 companies of Ld Loudon's Reg^t^, one of Lord John Murray's, and eight of Argyllshire militia.

Linlithgow, Jan. 15, 1746.—Major-Gen. Huske marches from hence to-morrow morning for Falkirk with 8 Regiments, at which place he will be joined by 1000 Argyllshire men under Lt.-General Campbell.

Edinburgh, Jan. 16, 1746.—Letters from Major-General Campbell dated at Inveraray mention that he has 1000 men in arms thereabouts guarding the passes, *besides the corps under his son,* which is now increased to 1000, and which

was to be at Kilsyth last night, in its march to join Major-General Huske.

Edinburgh, Jan. 16, 1746.—The party of the Rebels which had retired to Falkirk from Linlithgow, upon Gen. Huske's arrival at the last place upon the 13th, retired on the 14th from Falkirk to Stirling to their main body. Lt.-Col. Campbell was last night at Kilsyth, with the van of the Argyllshire men, waiting the General's orders.

Linlithgow, Jan. 17, 1746.—[Gives an account of the battle of Falkirk, at which Gen. Hawley did not post the Argyllshire men with the regulars, but bade them guard the camp. After Hawley's defeat the pursuing rebels stopped on seeing this fresh battalion at the camp. The Argyllshire men were thus not brought into action at Falkirk.] The boasted Broadsword is said to cleave or cut off a horse's head. During the time the army was on its march to meet the Rebels, a body of them, with some colours, passed the River of Carran, towards the right of the camp, with a design, as might be apprehended, to attack it, but the Argyllshire men being posted in the front of it, kept them in awe, so that they prevented their advancing.

Edinburgh, Jan. 18.—Maj.-General Campbell's Regiment is hourly expected.

Extract from a letter from Edinburgh, Jan. 21, 1746.—The Argyllshire men with some companies of Lord Loudon's men are in the neighbourhood of this town—sturdy, robust men, and very hearty in the cause.

The Duke of Cumberland to Duke of Newcastle, Falkirk, Feb. 1, 1745–6 (?).—I hope to be at Stirling to-morrow. Brigadier Mordaunt with the two Regiments of Dragoons and Lt.-Col.

Campbell with the Highlanders are in pursuit of them [the Jacobites].

The Duke of Cumberland from Camp at Falkirk to the Lord Justice Clerk.—Yesterday I marched from Edinburgh with the army in 2 columns, consisting of 14 Battalions, the Argyllshire men, and the 2 Regiments of Dragoons of Cobham and MacKerr, and quartered myself at Linlithgow. The Dragoons quartered in the adjacent villages, and Col. Campbell with the Argyllshire men, in the front, towards the Avon. [Rebels leave Stirling.] As soon as I came here [Falkirk] I detached immediately Brigadier Mordaunt with the Argyllshire men, and all the Dragoons in pursuit of them. Argyllshire men with Dragoons take possession of Stirling vacated by Rebels, who retire to Perth.

Edinburgh, Feb. 5, 1746.—On Feb. 4 the advanced guard consisting of the Argyllshire Highlanders and the Dragoons went on to Crief.

Feb. 10, 1746.—Gen. Hawley from Dumblain writes: "We shall proceed to-day to Perth; I believe our Argyll Highlanders and some Dragoons."

Perth, Feb. 8, 1746.—H.R.H. has been here ever since the 6th. Two detachments of 500 foot each have been sent forward, one to Dunkeld under command of Col. Sir Andrew Agnew with 120 Argyllshire men added thereto.

Perth, Feb. 10.—Yesterday General Campbell came hither to meet H.R.H. the Duke and brought with him 4 companies of Western Highlanders.

Edinburgh, Feb. 19, 1746.—200 Argyllshire men are sent to Fort William to strengthen the garrison of that place.

Fort William, March 4, 1746.—We have heard

of the taking of Fort Augustus and expect to be attacked, but Governor Campbell is determined to defend the place to the utmost of his power.

Perth, March 19.—There are accounts that a party of Argyllshire men under the command of Glenure, quartered at the Fort of Kanach, were attacked by a party of Rebels on the 17th inst. at 2 o'clock in the morning, and either killed or taken prisoners. The Rebels have surprised 2 parties of the Argyllshire men, are posted at Blairfettie and Kennochan, one 3 miles, the other 6 miles above Blair.

Letter of Keppoch and Lochiel, dated Glentrus, March 20, 1746, *to the Stewart of Invernakeil.*—As you happen to lie contiguous to the Campbells, 'tis our special desire that you communicate to Airds the Sherriff, and other leading men among them, our sentiments (which God willing we are determined to execute). It is our opinion that, of all men in Scotland, the Campbells had the least reason of any to engage in the present war against H.R.H. interest, considering they have always appeared in opposition to the Royal family since the reign of James VI., and have been guilty of so many acts of rebellion and barbarity during that time, that no injured Prince but w^d^ endeavour to resent it, when God was pleased to put the power in his hands. Yet His Present Majesty and H.R.H. the Prince Regent forgave all miscarriages to the most virulent and inveterate enemy, provided they return to their allegiance; and though they c^d^ not appear personally in arms in behalf of the Royal cause, yet their standing neuter w^d^ entitle them to the good graces of their injured Sovereign. But in spite

of all the lenity and clemency that a Prince c^d show or promise, the Campbells have openly appeared with their wonted zeal for Rebellion and Usurpation, in a most officious manner. Nor c^d we ever form a thought to ourselves that any men w^d use their fellow-creatures with such barbarity and inhumanity as they do, by their burning of houses, stripping of women and children, and exposing them in the open fields and severity of the weather, burning of corn, houghing of cattle and killing of horses. They must naturally reflect that we cannot but look on such cruelties with horror and detestation, and with hearts full of revenge will certainly endeavour to make reprisals, and we are determined to apply to H.R.H. for leave and an order to enter their country with full power to act at discretion, and if we are lucky enough to obtain it, we shall show that we are not to make war against women and the brute creation, but against men, and as God was pleased to put so many of them in our hands, we hope to prevail with H.R.H. to hang a Campbell for every house that shall hereafter be burned by them.

Letter from John Campbell.

INVERARAY,
Octr. 16*th*, 1745.

DEAR SIR,

As all communication from this country has been interrupted for some time It was to no purpose for me to attempt writing to you.

As the rebells are still at Edinburg we have no accounts that can be depended on of what is doing there or in England, for as their affairs are

in a very bad situation they take great pains to hinder any true accounts to be sent, especially to the Highlands. On the contrary we are daily entertained here with the most extravagant lyes that ever were heard of. There is not a day passes but we are told of some foreign troops being landed to their assistance, and tho there is not the least truth in these reports the common people believe it firmly throughout all the Highlands, especially as they see nobody in arms for the Government; and certainly it is a most unhappy thing that the misbehaviour of a few should have given the Government so bad an opinion in General of all Scotland, when it is plain to anybody here that if arms and amunition was properly disposed of in this part of the country there might be a body of men raised in a month's time from this shire and those adjacent able to oppose the whole rebel army. But instead of this there has been a party of fifty men headed by a madman plundering the country and raising contributions for six weeks past in and about Dunbartonshire.

This shire has been very quiet till within these few days, but there are now some people of desperate circumstances begining to make a stir hereabouts. Sr. James Campbell of Akenbrake is at the head of them. I have sent some partys into the country under pretence of recruiting who have very much disconcerted their measures, and I am sure if I had proper orders I would keep them all quiet in this shire, but tho' I have wrote often to the Duke of Argyle [Duke Archibald] I have no directions from him how to behave here nor have I any orders from any military person.

Lord Loudoun is gone to Inverness to take

upon him the command of eight companys of Guises, two of Lord John Murray's and twenty companys rais'd and to be rais'd out of the well affected clans. He wrote to me to know if I thought the three companys here would safely Join him, but as we have neither arms nor cloathes I believe it will be impossible.

The three companys here are at last compleat with great difficulty. I have been at Great trouble and expence with my own and it is but a very indifferent one.

We are afraid that the army is got as far as Newcastle, so that we hope in a week or ten days' time the rebells will be dispers'd or demolish'd. Their numbers are very little increas'd since the battle and I am credibly inform'd that they do not exceed 5,000 at present.

They have been forc'd to take off the blockade from the castle, which is now very well supply'd with provisions from the town. Your recruiting officers are just come into this country, but I believe will have very little success till these commotions are over.

I am, Sir, with the greatest respect,

Your most obedient Son and Servant,

JOHN CAMPBELL.

A draft of an order in 1745, *when the Campbell Militia was forming, to march to join the Government forces defeated at Falkirk, on which occasion the Argyll Militia were not in action, being told off to defend the camp. These companies took part in the advance to Culloden and the battle there under the Duke of Cumberland. It shows the tendency of the Highlanders to "loot" even in their*

own country, and the necessity the officer commanding felt of insisting on their arms being kept clean.

Five companys to march this evening at three o'clock under the command of Mr. Chisholm to the Ferry, and to ferry this night or to-morrow morning early, to remain on the other side till they are join'd by the second division.

The men to receive four days' meal this day, but not to be pay'd any money till we arrive at Inveraray (we come there). If any man leave his company discharged he will forfeit his share of the prize money and be punish'd with the utmost severity as a deserter. The captains to take particular care that their men do not plunder or commit any disorders, otherwise they will be answerable for any damage that may be done. These orders to be read at the head of every company immediately, and it is recommended to the officers to take care that the men's arms be clean and that they march into Inveraray in as good order as possible.

The other companys to be ready to march at six o'clock to-morrow morning.

Capt. Allan Campbell of the Glenaray Militia concerning £2 3s. Sterling advanced to 12 men and a Pyper hired for the Duke of Argyll and sent to Allan's company, 1746. (*Each company had a "Pyper." The men were sent to "compleat" his company.*)

To Mr. John Campbell, Deputy Chamberlain of Argyllshire.

Dear Cussine,—I wrote you from Corstofine about Donald Fergusson and Angus Sinklar both in Achenbreck, and since Dugald McIlroyle in

Stronmachan that went home with Lochead without the Corn[les] leave or mine, likeway John fferguson and Niel MacVicar both Achinagole Deserted from Nearn House with their whole arms. The Corn[lle] is very angary they should go that way and Disyers you sh[d] send them here Directly with [out ?] loss of time. I have no Extrordinary news to communicat to you but what I expect you here if only we came this leangth. The Corn[ll's] Inveraws, Ballimores, Ardchellans and my company in order to be a flank guard to the grand Armie, and Corrieliam with 5th Company are a day's march before us covering the flank as we dow. We have no account of the reabeles to be any nearer to us than Moyhull within 6 myles to Inverness, and it's said they are not of any great number but they daly expect great many from all corners. With all with my Compliments to you and Mrs. Campbell and am, D.C., Y'rs affectionately,

ALLAN CAMPBELL.

KILCAMOOR, 24th *Feb[ry]*, 1746.

P.S.—The Duke of Cumberland was last night at Glams within 3 myles of this place. Adieu.

I found yours to Lochead where you advanced £2 3 Sterling to 12 men and piper that came up, and sought payment from Airds in it, but he desyrs you draw on Mr. David Campbell for your money.

An account of Archibald Campbell of Barnacarry's work when he went to Tyree in 1745 *to raise the Militia there, sent to General J. Campbell, afterwards 5th Duke of Argyll.*

By order of the deputy lieutenants of Argyllshire, in obedience thereof A. C. sett out from

Inveraray the 28th November by the way of Mull, where he met Oswald Campbell of Airds leavying the militia there. ffinding he had no great success excepting what Campbells were in that country, I thought it advisable to return ane Express from thence to the Deputy Lieutenants to know whether or not I should pursue my journey as I saw Airds had no success with the Mull MacLeans. This stopt me for 8 days. Then orders were I should proceed forthwith. Went to the lower End of Mull where I took Boat. John Campbell in Treshnish, and five men with two I had along with myself.

As I made Tyree Conveened the whole inhabitants and showed them my orders. They Refrained giving me any answer then But promised to be with me next day, which they did. After several arguments they agreed I should begin to go through and name those I thought proper for that purpose. The day following I entered upon naming many of them, made out that day and the next day about 20 men. The third day came to the West end of the Island, and as I was coming to Kilchenich saw a number of men about boat a little distance. I sent two of my men to know what the matter was and desired that two or three of their leaders should come and talk with me. Accordingly four of them came. Asked what was the reason that so many of them convened, Replyed to put a stop to my leavying any more Militia in that Island. I used many arguments to convince them, but all to no purpose. I thought then to try another corner of the country, where I met with a greater number of men ready to oppose me and told me if I would not immediately desist I would soon repent it. The best

Capitulation I could get was to leave the Island the first fair wind, and as the hour did not answer I was windbound for seven days thereafter. All that time I had the half of the few men I had on guard, being in all but ten in number who did not strip off their clothes all that time. Then came straight to Inveraray to make a Report the 29th of December.

	£	s.	d.
To myself and men including fraights for the said time, being 32 days upon the Expedition ..	10	11	0
To paid the Express I returned from Mull to Inveraray		12	0
	£11	3	0

Upon the first of June 1746 Archibald Campbell of Barnacarry was ordered from Inveraray by Archibald Campbell of Stonefield with a letter to General Campbell desiring to give Barnacarry a command of men to go along with him to Tyree to raise the Rents and to reduce such of the Inhabitants of that Island as was in the Rebellion. For obedience thereto went to Tobermory in Mull and delivered the said letter to General Campbell. His answer then was that he could give no men till his return from Uist. After waiting about 15 days for any answer Barnacarry then went to Kinlochmoydart where Colonel Campbell then encamped and applied to him for a Command of men. Delayed it from time to time until the General would return from Uist. Barnacarry, wearying of this, wrote to Stonefield, who wrote to the Collonell. Then he agreed to give a command to go to Tyree. The Party and Barnacarry landed there the 13th of

July. Went through and poynded their Cattle that were lyable in paying Rents to the Duke of Argyll, and took due care to purge that Island of all those that were in the Rebellists and such as were leaders in opposing the Leavying of the Militia—was sending some of them prisoners to Inveraray and some others to be Recruits.

	£	s.	d.
To my expenses from the said 1st day of June until the said 13th day of July, being the day I landed in Tyree, including fraights, being 43 days myself and two men. (Brought forward £11 3*s.*)	8	12	0
To two Expresses at different times sent to Stonefield to advise him what to do with the cattle poynded	1	10	0
To paid for ferrying a party of Militia that went to Tyree with Barnacarry from said island to Mull, being 40 in number, at 1 shilling each ..	2	0	0
To paid for ferrying said party from Mull to Kerrera at 6*d.* each	1	0	0
To paid for ferrying said party from Kerrera to Lorn at 1*d.* each and for ferrying do. party at Lochow at 1*d.* each		6	8
To paid for ferrying a party of Inveraray's Company that were sent to Tyree when the Militia came away from Mull to said Island ..		15	0
To paid for ferrying do. party from Tyree to Mull		15	0
To paid for ferrying said command from Mull to Lorn		10	0
To paid for ferrying 12 prisoners from Tyree to Mull at 1 shilling each		12	0
To paid for ferrying do. Prisoners from Mull to Kerrera at 6*d.* each		6	0
To paid for ferrying do. from Kerrera to Lorn at 1*d.* each, and at Lochow 1*d.* each		2	0
To paid for the charges of do. Prisoners from Tyree to Inveraray, they being 6 days by the way at 6*d.* per day each	1	16	0
	£29	7	8

	£	s.	d.
To paid Niel Campbell for his trouble in going from Tyree to Inveraray with the said prisoners ..	1	10	0
By the ffactor's expenses from Tyree to Inveraray in order to pass his accounts and till his return, having Boat and crew to pay for since 10th September, 1747..	7	0	0
	£37	17	8
For subsistence to Prisoners at different Times & stone meall	0	16	0
	£38	13	8
To paid for half a Furlot, one Peck and one Lippic Measure, for measuring His Grace's Victual Rent in Tyree, as there was no standard measure left in the Country Syde	0	9	0
	£39	2	8

NOTE.—These letters are enough to give a glimpse at affairs in Scotland during the last Jacobite troubles.

DOMESTIC DOCUMENTS

HOLYROOD ABBEY ACCOUNTS

"A LODGING," or set of rooms having 32 windows, as the window-tax returns prove, was set apart for the Hereditary Lord Steward of the King's Household in Scotland. The Keeper (the Duke of Hamilton) had also his rooms. These were regularly used as Argyll property, and often were the residence of the Duke and of members of his family. They comprised many of the apartments used by Queen Victoria, to whom the 8th Duke of Argyll gave up all his rights voluntarily, thinking that the monarch should be mistress of the State Palace in all its parts, and hoping that the gift to the Sovereign might make the Palace a residence regularly occupied by her during visits to Edinburgh.

These are only a few accounts selected to show the life at Holyrood. There are many more of different periods.

THE MOST HON'BLE THE MARQUIS OF LORN.

Bou't of Cleghorn & Livingston.

1759.		£	s.	d.
June 5.	10 yards Col'd fustain @ 1/8		16	8
	6 Yds Shalloon 1/4		8	0
	1 Pair of Buckskin Breeches	1	3	0
	1 Velvit Cap and Ribbon		16	0
	1 Pair of Boots	1	0	0
Dec. 31.	Cash paid his Servant		6	0
		£4	9	8

	£	s.	d.
To Interest from 31 Dec'r 1760 to 1st June 1767—6 yrs 5 ms.	1	5	8
	£5	15	4

THE MOST NOBLE THE MARQUIS OF LORN.

To John Fortune.

		£	s.	d.
Mar. 29.	To Broild Pigeons 2/6, ffowl & Eggs 2/6		5	0
	To Cabelow 2/–, Spirlings 2/–, Spinage & Eggs 1/4		5	4
	To Apple 2/6, Lobster 1/–, Cook & Cadies 1/2		4	8
	To 4 Bottles Claret @ 4/– & 2 Do. Madeira @ 4/–	1	4	0
	To 2 Do. Sherry @ 2/6 & 2 Do. Port @ 2/–		9	0
31.	To Broild Pigeons 2/6, Veal Cuttlets 2/6..		5	0
	To Rozard ffish 1/6, Crawfish 1/–, Spinage & Eggs 1/2		3	8
	To Spirlings 2/–, Tearts 2/6, Cook & Cadies 1/2		5	8
	To 4 Bottles Claret		16	0
	To 2 China plates @ 2/–		4	0
	To 1 Wine & Water Glass 1/6, & 2 Small Do. 1/–		2	6
June 10.	To Rost Ducklings 3/–, Cold Chickens 2/8		5	8
	To Rozard ffish 1/4, Green Pease 2/6 ..		3	10
	To Sallad 8*d.*, Gooseberry Teart 2/6 ..		3	2
	To Strawberries, Cream & Sugar		4	6
	To Cook & Cadies		1	0
	To 2 Pints Claret @ 8/–		16	0
11.	To Rost Chickens 2/8, Veal Cuttlets 2/6..		5	2
	To Rozard ffish 1/2, Pease 2/6, Lobster 1/2		4	10
	To Gooseberrie Teart 2/6, Sallad 8*d.* ..		3	2
	To Strawberries, Cream and Sugar ..		5	0
	To Cook & Cadies		1	2
	To 4 Bottles Claret 16/–, 1 Do. Port 2/–, 1 Madeira 4/–	1	2	0
12.	To Cold Lamb 2/–, Chickens, pease & Lattice 3/6		5	6
	To Solls 2/6, Artichocks 1/6, Lobster 1/2		5	2

	£	s.	d.
To Sallad 8*d.*, Colourd Pigg 1/6, Cook and Cadies 10*d.*		3	0
	£8	14	0

Edinr 13th June 1768, Then Received the above and all demands for

JOHN FORTUNE.

Chinna plate		2	0
Table Nekpen		3	0
	£8	19	0

EDINBURGH, 30 *Day of March*, 1773.

Received from Mr. Arch[d] Campbell, Clerk of Session for His Grace the Duke of Argyle, the Sum of Three pounds five shillings Sterling, as the Duty upon 32 Windows or Lights, for his House lying in the Shire of Edinburgh, from 5th April 1772 to 5th April 1773 Years, by

JAMES RAMSAY.

£	s.	
3	4	Window duty
	1	House duty
£3	5	

TO HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF ARGYLE.

	£	s.	d.
To Halfe a Hundred of soap 6*d.* per pd.	1	8	0
To a stone of cotten wickt candles ..		9	4
To a women to wash 4 Days		4	0
To 10 window courtens 6 each		5	0
To manglen 4 beds 1 each		4	0
To 4 bed curtens			4
To a Dosen of table cloths			6
To 8 Dosen of napkens, towls & pillow slips		1	4
To 10 pound of starch 8 pr pd.		6	8
To a pound and a half of blew 2 pr pd.		3	0
To a women 6 Days to clean the powther and copper things		6	0
To Hollen sand, potashes, chalk & oyl for cleening the powther and coppers		2	0

		£	s.	d.
	To a washen blanket and flannel to cleen the Loks of the rooms		2	0
	To camstone, roat stone and sand ..		3	0
	To 6 Large carpets clining		2	0
	To a quar of writing paper and a quar of brown paper to wrap the powther in		1	0
	To 2 lums swiping		1	0
	To 2 wash hand basons 7 each		1	2
	To 3 mougs at 8 each, 3 basons 2 each ..		2	6
	To account of Mr. Spaddings for things wanting for the House	1	0	3
from January 26 to april 26	for wages and bouard wages	3	15	0
	for penshen mony		15	0
		£9	13	0

Edin. 23rd May 1782, Received payment of the above Nine pounds thirteen shillings from Mr. James Ferrier, writer to the Signet.

GRACE MACCALLUM.

HIS GRACE DUKE ARGYLE.

To Robert Baillie. Dr.

		£	s.	d.
1781				
Jany. 25.	To ½ day of 2 Masons Taking the snow off the Lodging		1	2
	To 11 days a Mason pointing on the Lodging		18	4
	To 7 days a Labourer at Do		7	0
	To 8 pecks of pan Cratch		4	0
	To 6 Hood of plaister Lime for ditto ..		3	0
1782				
Nov.	To 6 days of 3 Masons pointing on the tops of the windows	1	10	0
	To 6 pecks of pan Cratch for ditto ..		3	0
	To 2 days of 3 Masons at ditto		10	0
	To a moulded Can put on a vent.. ..		2	6
	To Scafolding for ditto		10	0
	To one doz. dutch Tyles put in a Chimney		2	6

	£	s.	d.
To one day a Mason Setting ditto with pan Cratch		2	0
Attested By me GRACE MACCALLUM	£4	13	6

Nov'r. 15th 1782. Received payment of the above from Mr. James Ferrier in full and discharges the same.

ROBERT BAILLIE.

TO HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF ARGYLE, 1781.

		£	s.	d.
June 8.	To Halfe a stone of cotten wickt candles		4	8
	To awatren pan at 4/6		4	6
	To mending and penting a water stoup		1	6
	To mending 4 brass candlsticks ..			6
June 24.	To a caddy 3 days 1/6 each day ..		4	6
	To a shire women 2 days		2	0
	To 6 bottels of porter 4*d.* each ..		2	0
	To 6 pound of Sheese 6*d.* each pd.		3	0
	To a pound of butter 10, creem 4 ..		1	2
	To 3 Loves 7½*d.* each lofe		1	9½
	To 2 Days of a women to wash ..		2	0
	To manglen 6 pr. of sheets			6
	To 6 table cloths, pillow slips & towls		1	0
	To a milk pot		1	0
	To alum swiping			6
A'gust 19.	To her Grace a Leg of mutton ..		3	0
	To 2 fowls 1/- each		2	0
	To Halfe a peck of pees & a forpet pottas			10
	To creem 6*d.*, to a pound of butter 10*d.*		1	4
	To a Lofe 7½*d.* and 6 bottels of porter		2	7½
	To account of Mr. Spaddens.. ..	1	15	2
		£3	15	7
	For wages and bouard wages from Aprill 26 to Jully 26	3	15	0
	For penshen mony		15	0
		£8	5	7

Edr. 22 Augt. 1782, Received the above from James Ferrier.

GRACE MACCALLUM.

His Greace the Duke of Argyle.

Bought of James Spaden.

		£	s.	d.
1781 Ednr.				
23 Novr.	To ¼ lb. Greean Tea, 16/-		4	0
	To 1 lb. Wax Canndells 3/6		3	6
	To a Bootlle oyle 1/6		1	6
	To 5½ lbs. Chees -/7		3	2½
5 Decr.	To a pack of Carrds		2	6
	To 2 oz. peepperment Drops ..			6
24	To a Bootlle oyle 1/6		1	6
1782				
26 Janr.	To ¼ lb. Beas Wax -/6			6
24 Febr.	To a Dutch Crutch 2/9		2	9
30 March	To a Snoatch			3½
		£1	0	3

Received the above in Full of all Demands.

James Spaden.

Account His Grace the Duke of Argyll.

To Alexr. Miller.

		£	s.	d.
1782				
May 18.	To Cleaning 19 large windows		9	6
	To puting in 1 Large pane of Croun Glass 21 by 14		3	6
	To puting in 1 Do. of Comon Glass ..		2	6
	Attested By me Grace MacCallum.	£0	15	6

Edin'r. Dec'r. 1782, Received pr the hands of Mr. John Ferrier, writer the Signet, the above in full.

Alexander Miller.

His Grace the Duke of Argyll.

Bought of James Spadin.

			£	s.	d.
1782 June 17, Ed'r.					
	To 9¼ of Lb. of Trupell Refined Sugar	1/6		13	10½
	To a Bass	/8			8

			£	s.	d.
	To 1 lb. wax Candell ..	.. 3/6		3	6
24.	To ½ lb. Grean Tea	14/-		7	0
	To ½ lb. Shouchong	.. 9/-		4	6
Aug. 17.	To 3 lb. 10 oz. Chees ..	.. /7		2	1½
	To ¼ lb. Grean Tea	14/-		3	6
			£1	15	2

Received the above.
JAMES SPADIN.

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF ARGYLE.

Dr. to James Hope.

1782		£	s.	d.
November 8.	To 2 Carts of Coals		11	0
11.	To 3 Do.		16	6
13.	To 2 Do.		11	0
14.	To 2 Do.		11	0
20.	To 2 Do.		11	0
21.	To 3 Do.		16	6
	To Porters		4	8
	Attested by me GRACE MACCALLUM.	£4	1	8

Edr. 25 November 1782. Received payment from James Ferrier.
JAMES HOPE.

TO HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF ARGYLE, 1782.

	£	s.	d.
To a stone of cotten wickt candles		9	4
To tubs and pals mending at Diffrent tims		4	0
To a cart of sea sand for the stars		1	4
To tow knives mending		1	0
To 2 Lums swiping 6*d.* each..		1	0
To a Large kan for washen plats in		1	4
To account of James Fergusson for lining wan pat, 3 goblets, and mending		6	4
To account of John Lamb smith (things Doun to the House)		17	5

	£	s.	d.
from Jully 26 to October 26 for wages and bouard wages	3	15	0
for penshen mony		15	0
	£6	11	9

Edr. 18 Novr. 1782. Received the above from James Ferrier. GRACE MACCALLUM.

To the Duchess of Argyll.

[Probably 1783.]

MY LADY DUCHESS,

Will your Grace be so good as let me know if Colonel Gunning's house at the Abbey, Holyrood, may be let for the winter, as Mr. Hamilton has wrote me to know ?

I stopt Sunday at Sir James Colquhoun's. They enquired about my lady Derby's motions. I said I had some idea that her Ladyship intended being with them within 8 days, but was not sure. Mcfarlane here, I find, can send 6 chaise horses & 2 saddle horses upon a day's notice to Tarbert or Cairndow. These will bring her Ladyship to Sir James's to dinner, & next morning to this place, where Glasgow horses should be ready to carry her forward.

I have the honour to be with the utmost respect, My Lady Duchess,

Your Grace's Most obliged faithful servant,

JA. [FERRIER ?]

NOTE.—The floors set apart at Holyrood Palace for the Dukes of Hamilton and Argyll as respectively State Keeper of Holyrood and State Master of the Household were constantly used by both families, and were parts of the offices and the only emolument belonging to the offices.

As will be seen by the above letter, they were so completely and legally the property of these high officers of state that the rooms were sometimes let to tenants chosen by themselves.

Mr. James Ferrier to the Duchess of Argyll.*

My Lady Dutchess,

Grace McCallum's daughter having lately had a fever at the Abbey [Holyrood Palace], I believe your Grace had best either not stop at all in Edin'r except to change Horses as you did last year, or take up your quarters at Dun's Hotel in the New Town, where the Lodging is clean and good.

His Grace is to be at Roseneath to-morrow, and I am Just on the wing of setting out for it in my way to Kintyre, so that you need not expect to find me at Edin'r. If your Grace has occasion for money Sir William Forbes & Coy. will give what you want upon your sending them a receipt for it.

I have the honour to be with the utmost Respect, My Lady Dutchess,

Your Grace's much obliged hum. Ser.

Ja: Ferrier.

Edin'r, 2 *July*, 1783.

WRECK WINE

Correspondence with the Isle of Barra.

Clunyth, 8*th June*, 1800.

Sir,

I have to acquaint you for his Grace's information that a Pipe of Port has been thrown

* Grandfather of Professor Ferrier, of St. Andrews.

TICKET OF ADMISSION TO THE TRIAL OF WARREN HASTINGS

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on the Shore near my House which is safe in my Cellar, and that a Pipe of Claret was taken up at Sea but near the shore, which from the bad state of the stave I thought it right to run off; the contents are about three-fourths of a Pipe (it having inleaked the rest), and I have this other safe. There has been some Port and Claret taken up at Sea, but at very considerable distances from land, generally about five or six miles, being the usual distances the Fishers go to Sea with their lines; this Wine I have arrested till I hear from you. May I therefore request you will send me your directions on this subject for my government. I propose being in this Country for a fortnight, and if I could have your answer in that time it would be for the interest of his Grace the Duke and very agreeable to me.

It is a considerable time since I wrote for general instructions on this subject. If you do me the honour to write within a fortnight, Please address at Fassfern, Fort William; otherways as usual. I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your most obedt. Sert.

(Signed) RODERICK MCNEIL.

To JAS. FERRIER, ESQR.
W.S., Edinburgh.

SIR,

I have this morning received your favour of the 8th which I shall communicate to the Duke of Argyll, who will wish to have samples of the Wine sent to Inverary in Sealed Bottles as soon as convenient. At same time please send me a particular account of the number of Casks, the quantities in each, as near as you

can, and the kinds of Wine, that I may report them to the Boards of Customs and Excise and thereby save your meeting with trouble from their officers, and until that is done, I believe it is best that the Wines remain with you.

The Admiral's right extends equally to Wines found at Sea as to what is cast on Shore. The first was of old distinguished by the names of *fletsham jetsam* and *Lagan*, but in law they are all *wreck*.

I do not know what general Instructions to send you, besides those contained in your Commission, which are pretty comprehensive, but if there are any particulars which you wish to have my Opinion upon you have only to state them. I am with respect, Sir,

Your most obedt. humble Sert.

(Signed) JA: FERRIER.

EDINR: 18*th June*, 1800.

RODERICK MCNEIL, ESQR.
OF BARRA.

Account of the Expense of Saving a Pipe of Wine by the Tenants of Corkamil, £4 11*s*.—J. C.

NOTE.—The rights of Admiralty gave all that was cast on shore to the Admiral of the Coast. This of course included a good deal of wine, and I cite an account showing how the salvage was made.

Account of the Expense of Saving a Pipe of wrecked Wine found by the Tenants of Corkamil and bringing it to the head of Lochnagaul.

	£	*s.*	*d.*
Wages of 8 Men bringing the Pipe out of the reach of the Sea through Rocks and a Coarse Shore at 2/– each	16	0	

	£	s.	d.
Do. of 2 Men for Watching 2 Nights at 2/- each p. night		8	0
Do. of 8 Men employed to bring the Pipe to the Head of Lochnagaul at 2/- each		16	0
Hire of a Boat		10	6
,, One Quarter Cask 12/6 and Seven Ankers 17/6 for Drawing off the Contents of the Pipe, it being too large to remove from the Beach ..	1	10	0
5 Bottles Whiskey 10/-, Bread & Cheese 6*d*. ..		10	6
	£4	11	0

5 July 1797. Received from JAMES MAXWELL Four Pounds Eleven Shillings, which is in full of the Annexed Account for the Expense of Saving a Pipe of wrecked wine by the Tenants of Corkamil.

ARCHD. MACPHERSON.

INSTRUCTIONS FROM HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF ARGYLL TO DONALD CAMPBELL OF AIRDS, HIS GRACE'S FACTOR OF MULL AND MORVERN, FOR THE MANAGEMENT OF HIS PROPERTY

October 1757.

1mo / That you do yearly make report to me, how far the Tenants on my Estate within your Collection who have no power to Subsett, Comply with the Conditions of their Tacks, And to Admonish those who presume in this point to exceed their power, That they are to be prosecuted, And you are hereby Appointed to give in a List of the names of Such Tenants As do Subsett.

2do / As you report in consequence of the above Instruction given you last year, That James MacNiven, Tacksman of four pennies of the Eight pennie Land of Terinish in Morvern, Did Subsett almost Wholely his Tack lands and flitted to another Country in Breach of a Clause

in his Tack against Subsetting—I desire you Execute Summons of Removing Ag^{t} the said James MacNiven and his Subtennants to remove Against Whitsunday next, And you are to Sett his part of Terinish to another good and sufficient Tennant, To whom I Shall Grant a Lease on the same Conditions he had it.

3^{tio} / As you also report That John Campbell, Tacksman of Kelimore, Peter Campbell, Tacksman of part of Ardalinish, and John MacLean, Tacksman of a part of Bunessan, all in Mull, Did Subsett part of their Several possessions: I desire you intimate to them that unless they Occupy their Tacklands in terms of their Severall Tacks, Against Whitsunday next, That removings Shall be served Against them And their Lands Sett to others Against Whitsunday 1759.

4to / You Likewise report That Archibald Campbell, Tacksman of Seirphein and Ardchivaig, and Alexander Niven, Tacksman of Achacharn, Did Subsett the whole of their Tacklands, and that you are uncertain of finding sufficient Tennants that wou'd engage to pay the Same Tack duty they are bound to—I desire you intimate to them that they Are Either to Occupy their Tacklands themselves against Whit^{s} 1758, in case of Subsetting that the Subtennants become Jointly bound with them for the Tack duty, And in case they faile—You are to Execute removings against them and their Lands to be Sett to Others.

5to / I agree to give Mr Archibald MacTavish min^{r} of Torosay a Tack of his present possession of Gualachelish and Ardura At Twelve pounds two Shillings Sterling yearly rent Including the Cess during his Incumbency; And as it

is necessary that my wood ranger in Torosay be accomodated in a small Croft and Some grassing in Ardura, You are to fix this and Adjust the deduction to be allowed for the Croft and Grassing before a tack is extended.

6to / As you signifie to me That John Campbell, my Tacksman of Torghormaig and Achnacress, is willing to keep possession of the Commonty of Benaid At the same rent it now pays being £2 5*s*. Ster[l] yearly during the Currency of his Above Tack—I Agree to the same, You taking his Obligation for the rent and his possessing the same While his Tack Subsists.

7mo / The Tennants of my Estate of Mull and Morvern being bound by their Tacks to the building of houses and laying out Certain Sums in making inclosures within years from the Commencement of their Severall Tacks, I desire you Intimate to them that the performance of this Clause is Strictly Expected, And that Such as faile therin Are to be prosecuted for the same, And you Are to report the performance When the time Limited expires.

8vo / As Some differences have of Late arisen betwixt my Lands of Corkamull and Laggan Ulva belonging to Mr Quary—I desire you adjust the same by Leading proof or otherwise As you see Cause.

9no / You are to give Notice that it's my order, that no Tennants but any woods without Application one of my Woodkeepers And according to the Instruction given Such woodkeepers. And you are to Advertise all my Tennants within your charge, that if they faill in taking due care of the woods growing on their Severall farms, and to discover and give up to my factor any person or persons they find

Stealing or destroying Woods, That they will be prosecute for any Neglect of that kind in terms of the Clause in their Tacks, whereby they are Obliged to take care of my woods—And you are to take all other methods you can contrive for the preservation of my woods within your district.

10mo / When you find any piece of work usefull for the policy and Improvement of my Estate under your charge—I desire you Cause my Tennants execute the same according to the Service they are bound to perform by their Tacks, Such as preventing Rivers from doing damage, mending high roads, &c.

11mo / You are to Observe the Article of Instruction given you last year, N° 9, regarding the building a Stone wall about the ruins of the monastry of Icolmkill, and See the Line of the said wall marked out.

12mo / As you did not Observe article 13th of Last year's Instruction by Torloisks being out of the Country, I now desire that you Execute the same this year as therein directed.

13mo / As you have procured a Bond from James Ewing, undertaker at Greenock, and Colin Campbell, my Chamberlain of Rosneath, for three hundred and Sixty Six pounds thirteen shillings and fourpence As the price of 2000 Trees of my Woods of Corinamorir Sold by you to them, And that the Said Bond is payable to you for my behoof At the terms & by the proportion following Vizt. £122 4*s*. 5*d*. 1/3 At martS 1757 and the Like Sum at Martimass 1758 and martS 1759, I desire that you will receive the same and charge yourself With the different Moyties as they fall due.

14mo / As you Report the Arrear of Five

pounds and ten pence due by Archibald Mackinnon for 1752 as desperat, I desire you keep the same out of your Roll of Arrears for Next year.

15mo / As you produced a letter from Mr Harries, one of the partners of the Argyll ffurnace, of date the 16th Instant, Wherein he Signifies that in a few weeks he expects directions from Mr Kendal and Company for sending a proper person to Value my woods in Morvern and Mull, Condescended upon by you and John Walker, Employed by the said Company in August Last, And acording to a State and Survey thereof given in to me—I desire how Soon you are advised of the Compass ordering One to Value these woods, you employ John Satherwaith to go at the same time to make a value on my behoof.

And you are to transmitt to me John Satherwaith's Estimation, And the price and terms of payment offered by the Company for these woods.

And when the woods are Estimated You are to give Strict orders, that none of my Tennants presume to Cut any part of the Woods condescended upon and proposed for Sale.

16mo / As you produced to me petitions to the Justices of the peace & Commissioners of Supply of Argyllshire from the Ministers of Mull and Morvern craving Decree against the Heretors for Erecting parochial Schools in these four parishes, As also letters from the Other Heretors Agreeing thereto,—And that you report the Committee for Manageing the Royal Bounty and the Society for propogating Christian knowledge have wrote to the Presbitry of Mull, that they wou'd withdraw the funds allowed for the three

Charity Schools now Established in Mull and Morvern Unless parochial Schools were Also Established as Law directs:

I desire you give a memorandum of this to my Lord Milton, and when he Considers of it, You are to observe what directions he gives you thereanent.

DONALD CAMPBELL.

INVERARAY, 27th Ocr, 1757.

Dunollie, 8th August, 1782, about the Tack of Soroba's

DONALD CAMPBELL, ESQR,
OF SONCHUHAN, INVERERY.

DUNOLLIE, 8th *August*, 1782.

DEAR SIR,

Yours of the 5th I received covering Sorobas Letter to you concerning his tack of tyths from the Duke of Argyll. I believe I knew very Airly the Duke Intention of giving away in tack the Bishop tyths, qch I communicated to my friend Soroba upon qch I wrote he wrote me a Letter desiring I should include his tyths in my tack and that I would communicate to him the same advantage I had my self qch accordingly was done; after I had got the tack he then desired to have a Netoriall Copy qch my son Petter made out at Edinr and was sent him, my view was to save him the expense of a tack but it would seem he is now better in Cash than then.

You may depend on't that the above is reall matter of fact. Soroba may look for a new tack from the Duke of Argyll of his own tyths, but I will not, and I shall Renounce to Soroba the

Clause in my tack of his tyths. Soroba has not paid me one shilling of cess for his tyths these 15 or 16 years past tho I paid it yearly with my own for qch I have a Claim ag^{t} him, & am w^{t} Compliments & best wishes to you, Mrs. Campbell & famiely—

Dr. Sir,

Yours Sincerely,

ALEX. MACDOUGALL.

POPULATION OF ARGYLL ESTATES

		1779	1792	1881
I.	Argyll, inclusive of Inveraray Farms	1,189	2,332	—
			Town Parish (& Argyll 500)	
	Inveraray—rural ..	609	—	946
II.	Tiree	1,881	2,464	2,733
			Mull and Morvern	
III.	Morvern	942	4,568	828
IV.	Mull	2,996	—	—
V.	Iona	229	—	243
VI.	Kintyre (assumed to be)	4,419	6,130	—
VII.	Rosneath (assumed to be)	468	350	—
VIII.	Lordship of Campbell ..	81	100	—
IX.	Inhabitants of Inveraray	1,000	—	—
		13,814	15,944	

LETTERS FROM ANDREW STUART RELATING TO THE DOUGLAS CASE, 1763–7

ANDREW STUART was a Trustee with Baron Mure for the Hamilton Estates and legal "Tutor" to the young Duke of Hamilton. He was agent against Lady Jane Stewart in the famous Douglas Case. This was a fight for the Estates of the Duke of Douglas, whose sister, married to a Colonel Stewart, brought forward two children as her own. This was disputed by the Duke of Hamilton's party, who declared that the children—two little twins—were peasants picked up in France. The Duke of Douglas hated the sister who produced these children. If they were not his sister's (Lady Jane), the Duchess of Hamilton's son would succeed to the Duke of Douglas's Estates besides those of Hamilton. All the kingdom was divided into partisans of Lady Jane, sister of the Duke of Douglas, or of the Duke of Hamilton. Furious language was used. The greatest ill-blood was made in families whose members favoured different claimants. Lady Mary Coke says, 1769: "I was told that the duel that was fought near me [on Sunday, January 15th]—Notting Hill—was Mr. Stewart and Mr. Thurlow [afterwards the famous Lord Chancellor], two of the lawyers concerned in the famous law-suit between the Duke of Hamilton and Mr. Douglas. Stewart

ELIZABETH, DUCHESS OF HAMILTON AND ARGYLL

After a portrait by Sir Joshua Reynolds

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challenged Thurlow, which is thought extraordinary as the Cause is still pending." The Scots Courts gave their verdict by one vote in favour of Hamilton, and thus declared the little boys to be "peasant brats" foisted on the Douglas Estates by the wicked Lady Jane, the undutiful sister of the Duke of Douglas. But the House of Lords reversed this decision, Lord Mansfield and the Chancellor declaring in favour of Lady Jane, whose brother, the Duke of Douglas, was dead by the time the decision for his hated sister was given.

It is difficult to read the evidence without coming to the conclusion that Lady Jane was not the mother of the children she put forward as her own. She naturally desired to keep Bothwell Castle and to prevent it becoming part of the Hamilton Estate. There was always concealment and mystery about her travels, and never was this so great as at the time she alleged the twin children were born. There were no reputable witnesses cited. In all this battle Elizabeth Hamilton, called "the beautiful Duchess," took a most active part for her son. It will be remembered how James Boswell was employed against him, and how, when Dr. Johnson visited Inveraray, the hostess would have nothing to say to "Bozzy," her position as Duchess of Argyll having in no way softened her feelings against Colonel Stewart and Lady Jane's friends and legal advisers.

Andrew Stuart was the most active agent on the side of the Duke of Hamilton and against "the French frauds." He was M.P. for Lanarkshire, and was appointed to the Board of Trade when Lord North was Prime Minister. In the year the Duchess of Hamilton died, namely 1790,

he became M.P. for Weymouth. He died holding this position in 1801.

The Duchess of Hamilton and Argyll visited him in Paris in order to assist his researches in 1763.

There is now no doubt that he was in the right and that Lady Jane had no children. Lord Mansfield was the man who influenced his fellow-judges in the Lords in favour of the French boys being pronounced to be Lady Jane's, thus reversing the judgment of the Court at Edinburgh.

Mr. Andrew Stuart to Lieut.-Col. Stuart.

PARIS,
Wednesday, 21*st Sept*r, 1763.

D. B.,

My Letters to Jack Stewart and Mr Davidson, which I suppose you have seen, will give you an Idea in what manner my Time here has been occupyed of Late, and of the many anxious Struggles that are occurring to us by ye strange Conditions which our Court of Session have thought proper to Impose upon us. These struggles still continue. There was another meeting of ye Conseil d'Etat on Monday Last about our affair which continued Three hours. The Chancellor of France and other eminent persons were present. The Terms prescribed by ye Court of Session appeared to them so savage, and so irreconcileable to what they apprehend due to The Laws of this Country, that they broke up without comeing to any fixed resolution whether ye Request which I presented to them can be granted. The prayer of my petition to them was, that they would give to our adverse party communication of all the Depositions of

Witnesses and of all ye procedure before ye Tournelle of Paris. In a request of this nature it might have been expected that the other party would have joined in ye prayer of ye petition—Since it was in their favours that the Communication was prayed for; but they have absolutely refused to give us any assistance—Saying that The Court of Session has Imposed upon us the Condition to obtain it for them without any Joint application on their part. Their reason for so doing is very Evident—Since that same Judgement of the Court of Session has said—that unless we obtain to ye other party communication of The Depositions of ye witnesses at ye Tournelle, None of these Witnesses shall be admissable in ye prooff now to be taken. The Cruell part of The Judgement is that they have made the proof to depend upon conditions which are not in our power to accomplish—but totally dependant on ye will and ye Censure of ye Sovereign powers of this Country.

These Sovereign powers are highly sensible of ye Equity of our Cause and have very good Inclinations to relieve us from ye hard Dilemma that our Judges have thrown us into—but what creates ye Difficulty with them is ye unreasonableness of our Court's requireing the Customs and Laws of France which have prescribed Secrecy in criminel proceedings to bend to the Dictates which ye Court of Session have Imposed on us, and they are piqued that by the Judgement of our Court, such a total Disrespect has been shewn to The Established Laws and Customs of this Country. It is become a Matter of very serious Discussion here. The Conseil d'Etat has remitted the Affair to The Conseil des Depeches—which is composed of His Majesty—

The Dauphin—The Dukes of Choiseul and Praslin—and Others of ye most considerable persons in ye Country. Their first meeting is to be on Monday first—and I must now go the round of visits—to deliver an exact State of ye Case to ye Leading members of The Conseil de Depeches. Some friends here have undertaken to get me properly Introduced.

The pursuing the Dark Windings of This Imposture was business enough—without ye additional Load that the Extraordinary terms of The Court of Session's Judgement have occasioned. Reflections upon it do not avail—therefor I shall chearfully set about it, in hopes of getting over this as we have former Difficultys thrown in our way. Wedderburn and I proposed this Day to The Conseil for ye Other Side That we should Jointly apply to Mr Neville to give his Aid in Supporting the Judgement of The Court of Session, so as we might obtain to Them the communication of The proceedings and Depositions before ye parliament of Paris—but they have declined to Join us in This aplication to Mr Neville—because that ye Judgement of the Court has made it Incumbent on us to procure it for them, while they Look on as Spectators, with their Arms across.

Very probably in the Course of The Deliberations before The Conseil de Depeches it may become necessary that the British Minister take some part in this affair for promoting our request founded upon the Terms of the Judgement of ye Court of Session—a Request which it would be greatly for ye Interest of The other party to wish to Succeed—if Their Cause were founded on Truth—and which it is Impossible for them to oppose with any degree of Decency.

HAMILTON PALACE

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Therefor I hope ye Marquess of Lorne and The Duchess of Hamilton have not forgot to mention me to Lord Hertford—and to recommend our Cause to his particular Consideration.

Least this should have been ommitted in The Short Stay they made in London I wish you would speak to Lady Charlotte Edwin*—that she may Lay ye foundation of my being acquainted with Lord Hertford when he comes here. Speak to Mr Ross-McKye on ye same subject—he will give his best aid and point out ye proper Avenues. Make my Apology to him, for ye unfrequency of my Letters—occasioned by ye constant agitation of our affair here.

I have ye pleasure to tell you, that we have last Night Succeeded in our attempt to fulfill one of The Conditions imposed upon us by ye Court of Session—that which relates to The police. Monsr de Surtine has been so good, at our earnest request, to Grant Communication to The other party of every Step of procedure at The Police, since my first arrival in France.

There is nothing we wish for more than that every procedure—either at ye Police or before ye Parliament of Paris—should be rendered Publick and known to our Enemys in particular, whence it will appear how very suitable our Conduct has been in every Circumstance of this affair.

This Desire of obtaining the publication of ye prooffs has made us rack our Invention for every Argument to support the Judgement of The Court of Session—which has required that publicity of proofs—and to prevent The French Court's takeing umbrage at The Disrespect

* Aunt of the Duke of Hamilton, Lady of the Bedchamber to the Princess Dowager of Wales.

shewn by our Court of Justice towards ye proceedings of The Court of Justice in This Country, which are truely respectable and deserved more attention from our Side of the Water. But The persons here under whose cognizance this affair has come are too discerning not to perceive from ye words of ye Judgement itself That our Court has been greatly wanting to The Courts of This Country in The respect due to Their Customs & Proceedings—

&c.—

Mr. Andrew Stuart to Mr. John Davidson.

PARIS,
Monday morning, 31 *October*, 1763.

DEAR SIR,

On Tuesday last I went again to Fountainbleau and returned from thence late last night. Our affair came before the Council des Depeches on friday evening at Six o'clock. Those present were His Majesty, The Prince de Soubise, The Dukes of Choiseul and Praslin, The Chancellour of France, The Marshall d'Etree, Comte de St. Florentin, Secretaire d'Etat, four Counseilliers d'Etat who were particularly appointed to examine into the State of this affair, and Monsieur de Baiquancourt, Maitre des Requetes, who was appointed the Reporteur in it.

The Council des Depeches continued assembled on this Cause till nine at night, when after having had a full Report of the Cause, Judgement was pronounced; neither party have as yet got a copy of the Judgement, but the Rapporteur showed at the same time to the Avocat du Conseil of the other party and to me on Saturday

BOTHWELL CASTLE ON THE DISPUTED DOUGLAS ESTATES

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last the Arret reduced into writing and signed by the Chancellour &c. of which we will have Copys in a few days.

The substance of the Arret, which is Introduced by a very proper preamble, is, That His Majesty is pleased to allow the proof to be taken in consequence of the Commission from the Court of Session and allows it to be in the Scots form; but as it is not usual to confer the power of Commissioners either upon Forreigners, or upon French people unconnected either with the Law or the Magistrature, His Majesty has adopted all those Commissioners named by the Court of Session who are French Lawyers, upon whom alone the powers of Executing the Commission are devolved. By this means there are four men of Law of the other side and three of ours who receive the powers of Executing the Commission, for even Baron Dolback and Monsieur Pettier are excluded as not being in any office of the Law. This disposition of the Arret will create no difficulty to either party, for it had been resolved upon amongst us that the whole Commission should be Executed by French Council only.

His Majesty has refused the Cancellation of the Depositions at the Tournelle, and also the Immediate communication of these Depositions, as inconsistent with the Established Laws and customs of this Country, but has been pleased to order that so soon as the Criminal Action here shall be brought to Conclusion by a Judgement, that an authenticated Copy of the whole proceedings and Depositions shall be sent sealed up to the Court of Session to make such use of it as they shall think proper. In the mean time His Majesty has ordered that the action

at the Instance of the Procureur General be carried on with all vigour and pursued till definitive Sentence, and that such sentence be carried into Execution against all the authors and accomplices in this Crime.

We are Informed that this Criminal Action appeared to his Majesty and the Council des Depeches so serious a matter and so much respecting the good order of the Country that they were rather dissatisfied at its having been discontinued for some time past, and that it was the opinion of some of the members that the proof in the Civil Action should not be allowed until once the Criminal action had been carried the length of Judgement. But his Majesty from attention to the Importance of the Case, and the hazard of Wittnesses dying, and from attention to the Commission Issued from the Court of Session, has permitted the Immediate taking of the proof in the Civil Action. This we reckon a most important point gained, and I believe is a very great disappointment to our Adversarys, who flattered themselves that the difficultys arising from the conditions in the Court of Sessions Judgement would have either produced a longer delay, or have entirely prevented the French Courts Authorising the Execution of the Commission.

I do believe that the anonymous Memorial of the other party and their printed Requete have rather done us service. The design of these publications was palpable, that one great object of them was to increase the difficultys, and put the two Courts at variance; happily they have not succeeded. We will have access to Examine without any Considerable delay all the Witnesses not hitherto Examined at

the Tournelle, and the Court of Session will certainly vary that part of the Interlocutor which respects the Tournelle Witnesses when they see with how much Zeale and sincerity we have endeavoured to Execute that part of their Judgement, and that it has been found not potestative of us. If the Court should still adhere to make the Examination of the Tournelle witnesses depend upon an Impossible Condition, then an appeall from that part of the Judgement must be lodged with all Expedition.

We may safely say that this Arret of The Conseill des Depeches has been pronounced after the most mature deliberation. It has been canvassed at several meetings of the Conseilliers d'Etat, was afterwards Reported and weighed at a Committee held in The Chancellour's where the Duke de Praslin assisted, and finally was Reported and discus't in the Councill Chambre on friday last—when three hours were consumed in this affair. It has been a very great object of attention in this Country. I waited in the King's Antichamber during the meeting of the Counsell, which was full of people of the first distinction waiting with Impatience the result of this Cause. The Judgement was very much applauded at Fountainbleau as uniting, at the same time with what his Majesty owed to himself and the Laws of his own Country, a generous attention to the Interests of Forreigners and to the Laws of their Country.

As the Post goes away at 10 this morning and that I have several other letters to write I must referr till next post all further particulars. When the Arret (which will Contain the Requetes

of the different partys) is writ out there will probably be occasion to send it you by Express.

Be so good as to Communicate this letter to the Tutors by first occasion. I always am, Dear Sir,

Yours most sincerely,
(Signed) ANDREW STUART.

Mr. Andrew Stuart to the Duchess of Hamilton.

HAMILTON, *Friday evening*, 22 *June* [1764 ?].

MADAM,

I am this minute arrived here in my way to Torrance to pay a visit to my Father, which the affairs in the Court of Session have hitherto prevented my doing. Having learnt that there is a Courier to be dispatched from this to-morrow for Roseneath, I take the opportunity to send to Your Grace and My Lord Lorne 2 Copys of the only printed papers that have as yet been given in to the Court this Session. The one is drawn by Lord Advocate, the other by Sir David Dalrymple: this commences the Operations for the Summer Campaign. The Lords have ordered our Adversarys to give in their Answers to-morrow se'nnight. I am to return to Edinb^h on Monday or Tuesday at furthest to watch their Operations, as there will probably be some papers on their part next week. If the time would have allowed it I should have been very happy to have gone forward to Roseneath to pay my respects to Your Grace and My Lord Lorne, but at present any absence from Edinb^h above 2 or 3 days would be very inconvenient.

Your Grace will have heard of the death of

Sir John Stewart last week. I wish rather he had liv'd a little longer that I might have had a further perusal of Him, and for the chance of Confronting him with some of the Witnesses; however it is fortunate that he has already undergone two thorough examinations, which being taken down in writing will not perish.

The Report or Joke that prevails in Edinb^h at present is that Sir John Stewart has in his testament left the Estates of Lord Galloway, Baron Mure, Mr Ross Mackye, and my Father regularly distributed amongst his Children as belonging to himself on accompt of the Dammages due to him by the Tutors, and that by way of Codicil to the Testament he leaves John Davidson's fine house in Edinb^h to his Agent Charles Brown. The town is full of Storys upon this occasion, and it is said that he has lately sign'd a Declaration in general terms adhering to the Story of Mr Douglas's being his son but without mentioning any particulars that could lead to eclaircissment or give any further light into the matter than was formerly obtained. If there is such a Declaration signed It only shows that most people die as they live. He had long outliv'd all sense of shame or Remorse.

I rejoice to hear from Mr Aikman that the Children have all been better since their arrival at Roseneath. When any thing material occurrs in the Cause I will not faill to write either to Your Grace or to My Lord Lorne, to whom I beg leave to present my respects.

I have the honour to be at all times
Your Grace's most faithfull
and obed^t humble Servant,
AND^W STUART.

Mr. Andrew Stuart to the Duchess of Hamilton.

EDINBH, 27 *July*, 1764.

MADAM,

I had the honour of Your Grace's Letter the night before last, and for my own part will be most ready to attend Your Grace at whatever place You think proper to appoint for the meeting on the Duke's affairs. The other Tutors will, I am persuaded, do the same. I have already spoke of it to Baron Mure and my Father, who agree, and as Lord Galloway by a Letter just now received from him is to be in town on Monday or Tuesday first I shall then mention it to his Lordship and will write to Your Grace the time that it will be most practicable, for untill the Douglas Cause is finally Settled for this Session it will be impossible for us to Stir from this. Every day there is some Skirmish in it. My examination in presence of the whole Lords began on Wednesday last and was to have been continued this day if I had been able to go abroad, but a Severe Cold got by the Heats at the Crouded Audiences in the Court of Session last week has laid me up and obliges me to keep the house for some days.

The adverse Party are so excessively out of humour at the late Decision of the Court of Session that they are preparing a Reclaiming Petition to apply for a Rehearing, but We imagine that the Court will not vary the Judgement which they have already given.

With my humble duty to My Lord Lorne I have the honour to be

Your Grace's most faithfull and
Devoted Servant,
AND^W STUART.

(*Addressed*) To Her Grace
THE DUCHESS OF HAMILTON
at Roseneath by Dunbarton.

Mr. Andrew Stuart to Lieut.-Col. Stuart.

PARIS,
Thursday morning, 25 July, '65.

By Saturday's post, I had your Long Letter of 9th July, & perused the contents with great Satisfaction. Your views of the cause & Steps necessary to be taken, from Time to Time, quadrate very much upon every occasion with our views here. If you have seen my late Letters to Mr Davidson, you would see what extraordinary Dispatch we have made in the numerous examinations taken in the course of the late expedition. Haveing Left Paris May 25th & returned July 10th, there were in that period 59 Witnesses examined on both sides, at the Different places in France, Germany & Flanders, —a great part of which Depositions were very Long & Tedious; but in counting merely by the Number It gives but a faint Idea of our occupation, for at almost all the Different places we were obliged to employ much Time in makeing Investigations—as being Strangers upon our arrival—of the facts to be proven on both Sides at these places. I had never been at Sedan, Liege, Aix-la-chapelle, Brussels, &c., before this occasion—wheras the Chiefs

of the other party, & their agents, had been there oftner than once. The Time spent in Investigations of which nothing now appears, & in preparing Questions & cross Questions for the witnesses to be examined, was much more considerable, than that spent in the actual Examination.

You would see by my late Letters to Mr Davidson that, notwithstanding the Dispatch we made to get back here, there were some parts of the proof here, which from the nature of it could not be driven with equal Dispatch, particularly what related to The Tournelle books, to which we have only very lately Got access. And as the other party Insists to have copys of great part of those Books before concludeing examinations, It consumes Time & we cannot well refuse it them. However, on Tuesday last, in a sederunt of five hours, We Got the final examinations of Monr & Mad. Michells taken, The Books being presented to them at same Time. Copys of these Depositions are by this post sent to Mr Davidson. The Article in Michell's Book is clearly proved to be of the handwriting of the Servant *Marie*, Dead some Years before this process began. How *Infamous* must It appear in *Those* who Dared to throw out such false Insinuations, at the Bar of the House of Lords ! You cannot conceive an Article Less Lyable to even the most Distant Suspicion.

There are persons now employed to copy Godefroys La Mair's book, & by next post I shall be able to acquaint you, more particularly, at what Time the whole proof will be finished. You may easily believe, there is nothing I Long for so much. To have one's mind

on the rack for Three *Long* Years, cannot be very agreeable. But haveing once put my hand to it, you may be sure, I shall neither give over, nor relax in application, untill the whole proof be happily compleated. To have gone to Scotland, this Session, leaving unfinished so material a part, as What stands connected with the Tournelle Books, would have been highly prejudicial, for it is of much more consequence to have the proof properly finished here, than even to get Sir John's Declaration publish'd this Session—Tho I am Sensible how Desireable that would be. But even if we do not get it published this Session, It may probably be got done Next one, before the meeting of Parliament. Or in the worst of events, if they were to carry that point to appeal, It is impossible to think they could ever succeed in it; and a preliminary appeal upon such an article would be very discreditable for their cause, & on the whole might do It more hurt than Good.

I was 'tother Day charged with many Compliments to you, from M^r & Mad. de Pinssieux; you still keep in ye front of the Old Lady's favourites. I have been vastly obliged to them, both as to my personal part, & also in ye Load of this Cause; their Countenance & ye footing I was upon with them, & the Marchionesses way of Timeing & telling our business to ye Circle in her house, I found greatly serviceable. The politenesse of that family, in its Effect & I believe Intention, comes nearer to real friendship, than usually to be met with among what is call'd—great ones, Used to Courts.

Y^e Greatest part of your Pine aple rum went, as you desired in return for his many feasts,

To Baron Dolbach—we drink your health often in It. The rest of It has been distributed among such as patronized Me & ye Cause. This with The Havannah snuff shews at Least our, or rather Your Attention to them. Poll has not been here these many months. He went to Auvergne to marry a Daughter of his, to a Man of considerable fortune & family there, & is not yet returned. I was lately told, that to compensate these great advantages, there is but one Drawback in this Marriage. The Husband happens to be Literally blind—tho, *may* be, it is not so great a Drawback here as in other Countrys.

Adieu, &c.

(*Endorsed*) Copy. *D.H.*

Mr And^w Stuart's to his Bro^r.

PARIS, *July* 25, '65.

Mr. Andrew Stuart to the Duchess of Hamilton.

EDINBURGH, 30 *May*, 1767.

MY LADY DUCHESS,

While my Lord Lorne was here we had a great deal of conversation on the subject of the Douglas Cause & the County politicks, & on both accounts I was glad to find that your Grace Proposed to be so soon in this country. It has often occurred to the tutors & to the well-wishers of the family that your Grace's presence here this summer would be very material both with respect to the Cause & to the Election, especially the being here some days before the decision of the Cause, which is fixed for the 23rd of June.

Lord Lorne was mentioning that your Grace was proposing to set out in a few days after the

HAMILTON PALACE

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birthday, & was enquiring at me whether there would be any impropriety in your Grace's being in Edinburgh on the day of the Decision. I told my Lord my own sentiments, & those of every person I had heard speak on the subject, that there certainly could be no impropriety in it; on the contrary that it must appear to everybody as a suitable mark of attention to an object so interesting to your Grace's family. The delaying the journey to Scotland till after the decision might even be interpreted by some as proceeding from a diffidence of the merits of our Cause or of the judgement to be pronounced on it, more especially as the adverse party have kept the field all along, & particularly the boy, to whom the nature of this contest & the situation of being present at the Decision on the proof ought to be more delicate & disagreeable than to any of the parties concerned in this Lawsuit. His presence & the manner he has been introduced into various companys here with a view to aiding him in his plea, has indeed been censured by some as indelicate; still, however, that party has persisted in making use of this engine, & it is thought this expedient has been of more use to him for preserving a party in his favour than any of the arguments contained in his Law Papers.

He has lately made a trip to London to pay a visit to the Duke of Queensberry, & the report here is that the object of his visit was to solicit the Duke of Queensberry to be present at the Decision of the Court of Session, & that he has prevailed upon the Duke to agree to it. If it really is so & that the Duke of Queensberry, the Duchess of Douglas, & the boy himself are all to be here at the Decision, without your

Grace being in Scotland at that time, or any person who can be considered as representing the family of Hamilton, it is giving an advantage to the other party, & some will be apt to put an improper construction on it, that the one party is so conscious of being in the right that they show themselves upon the most critical occasion while the other party does not.

Whether the Duchess of Douglas, the Boy, or the Duke of Queensberry are to be present in the Court of Decision or not, I cannot pretend to say, but as their conduct will be no rule to your Grace, I fancy you will think it more proper & delicate not to follow their example in attending the Court of Decision that day, supposing that be their plan. In matters of great importance it frequently happens that the parties principally interested are present in court, but I own it has always appeared to me much more eligible to omit that part of the Ceremony. When the preliminary questions were before the House of Lords 3 years ago, I remember that some persons had suggested your Grace being present in the House of Lords & that you did me the honour to ask my opinion of it before agreeing to go. My sentiments on the matter were then the same as now, & as your Grace was then pleased to approve of the opinion against being present in Court, it encourages me to suggest the same thing upon this occasion. It is sufficient that your Grace be at Edinburgh at the time of the Decision, & some days before, without giving yourself the trouble of attending in Court at the Deliberations of the judges.

By the number of reviews which Lord Lorne

proposes in person to attend in the North Country & at Stirling, I am afraid they will prevent his Lordship's being in Edinburgh on the decisiv day of the 23rd June, tho if 'twere otherwise convenient for him his presence here at that time would be very desirable. I am told that the latest Review will be that at Stirling, & that according to the present plan it will happen about the 21st or 22nd June. Perhaps it may be possible to make that review a day or 2 sooner, so as to leave his Lordship at liberty to be here before the 23rd, which may possibly become more requisite, if the report be true of the Duke of Queensberry's intention to come down here on purpose to be present in Court at the Decision. I have yesterday sent to London an additional cargo of our Memorials; they are addressed to Mr. John Stuart, whom I have desired to wait upon your Grace for your directions how they are to be distributed. Now that the hurry of Parliament is near over, I fancy it will be the best time for getting them read with attention.

I have the honour to be with great truth
Your Grace's most devoted &
humble faithful servant,
ANDREW STUART.

NOTE.—"The Boy" was the child reputed to be the peasant boy Mignon—rejected by the Court of Session in the year of this letter as Lady Jane Stewart's son, but accepted later by the Lords on appeal to their tribunal.

Mr. Andrew Stuart to the Duchess of Hamilton.

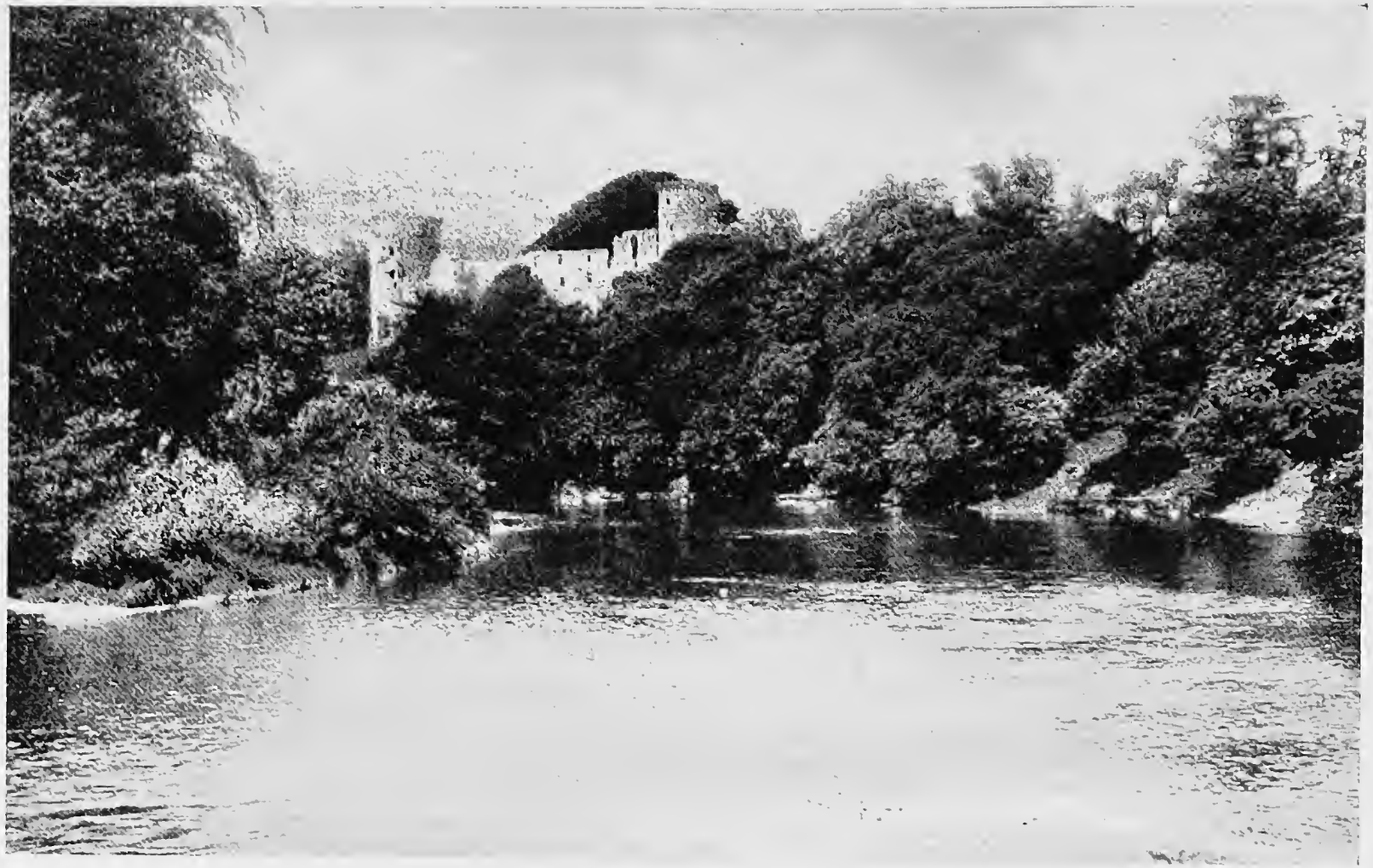
EDINB^H, 28 *July*, 1767.

MY LADY DUCHESS,

In the Douglas Cause there seems to be no such thing as a last Speech. Within these few days there have been *more last words* oftner than once on the part of the Defender. I send inclosed the latest words that have come from that side of the question. It is a paper writ by Mr Sollicitor Dundass, very well exprest, and well suited to the occasion.

It has had its effect in so far that, when moved in Court this day, The Court has allowed to the Defender the opportunity of a Rehearing by allowing him to give in a Reclaiming Petition on or before the 12th of Sept^r, with Certification that if not given in then none will be received after that time. On the other hand they have allowed us to give in Answers to that Reclaiming Petition on or before the 20th of Oct^r, and have appointed the final Judgement in the Cause to be on the 13th of Novr next.

These Delays are certainly disagreeable. The Defender's object is to gain time and to avail himself of the Chance of the death or absence of some of the Judges who lately Voted on our side of the question. The Reason which probably induced the Court to grant this delay was, that as it is the right of every Suitor to have his Cause twice heard, provided the Reclaiming Petition is presented within a fortnight of the first Judgement, it might have appeared a hardship to Cut off the Defender from a Rehearing by adhering rigidly to that limitation of time, in a Cause so extensive and important, and possibly there would have been a Cry raised that



BOTHWELL CASTLE

Another view

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the Court was so partial ag^t him as that they would not even hear what further he had to say.

With regard to the Merits or fate of the Cause, it is not possible after the mature deliberation which preceded the first Judgement that any paper now to be given in by our Adversarys can have any effect such as to vary the Judgement. The chief thing disagreeable is the additional trouble and loss of time. It is to myself in particular extremely irksome, because from the moment of the last Decision I had begun to look upon myself as a free Man. Whereas by this day's Interlocutor I must lay my account with dedicating great part of this vacation in the same manner that the former Sessions and Vacations have been employed, and it prevents the Scheme I had of passing part of this vacation with Mr. Yorke and Mr. Dunning in England, instructing them in the Cause so as to enable them to do justice to it in the House of Lords. I cannot possibly be absent from this at the time when it is necessary to draw the Answers to the Ennemy's Reclaiming Petition, and the Intervals before and after that period would not answer for the purpose of giving full information to the English Counsel and reading over with them the papers in the Cause. The only rule in such Cases as this where the Events are not of our own choosing is that We must make the most of the situation, and endeavour to frame the Answers to their Reclaiming Petition in such a manner as that they may serve to give the Coup de grace to their pretensions; and We have this advantage that the last word belongs to us, and truth being entirely on our side, it will not be in our

adversarys power so to disguise it, but that We shall be able to pull off the Mask.

In a separate pacquet I send Your Grace a Letter which I received this day from General Conway * on the subject of the insolent Letters sent to the Lord President. There came by the same express a Letter from him to the Court of Session acquainting that he had laid the matter before his Majesty, and that an Advertisement was ordered to be published in the Gazette offering a Reward of £500 on the part of the Crown for discovering the offenders.

I have a Letter also from Mr Hume expressing the highest satisfaction at the Judgement which has been pronounced in the Douglas Cause, which in the Circumstances it has been obtained against such a violent torrent of prejudice he considers as doing great honour to the Majority of the Court of Session, and tho' carried by a narrow Majority in his opinion it forms a stronger presumption for the justice of our Cause than an unanimous Decision would do in any other Cause.

As to Politicks, he acquaints me that his Principal and he are still in Office, and that no body can foretell how affairs will turn, and that from some dissentions amongst those between whom Negotiations were lately carrying on the Road seems now to be open to Separate Negotiations.

If Your Grace has not already writ about the affair recommended by the Provost of Linlithgow, I would beg leave to suggest the utility of writing soon about it, that I may have it in

* Field-Marshal Conway, a friend to the Americans before the outbreak of the war. He was afterwards Governor of the Channel Islands.

my power to acquaint him that his Request has not been overlooked. It is a Material Card in that place, which in many future events may be of material Consequence to the Political interest of the family.

I have the honour to be with the most perfect attachment

Your Grace's most faithfull and
obed^t humble servant,
AND^W STUART.

Mr. Andrew Stuart to the Duchess of Hamilton.

TORRANCE, *Sunday, 13th Sept.*

MY LADY DUCHESS,

In my way here I despatched an express from Glasgow to Edinburgh with the letters concerted at Rosneath. I ordered the express to wait in town till yesterday afternoon, so as I might receive by him at his return the certain accounts of the Reclaiming Petition, which if not presented yesterday at 12 o'clock could not therefore be presented at all. The Express has just now returned & brought me a letter from one of my clerks, by which I find that, after much wavering in their resolutions, our adversaries have at length thought proper not to give in any Reclaiming Petition. So that the judgement is now final with regard to the Court of Session, & the only resource left for the Defendant is to try the fate of an Appeal to the House of Lords, which I am persuaded will terminate in an affirmance of the judgement pronounced in this country. One good effect of their abstaining from a Reclaiming Petition is that it gives me more the command of my own time during this vacation, & that time

your Grace may believe will be employed in the 1st place with all the industry in my power in the Election scheme in which you have been pleased to honour me with your Confidence & support.

After talking over the matter with my father, my brother & I have been through all our operations; it is agreed that we sally forth to-morrow morning early from this place, & by his going to one part of the country & I to the other, we shall in 2 or 3 days have made a compleat round of the county. My 1st visit to-morrow morning is to be to Dalziell, to whom the earliest accounts are due; after him I proceed to Wishaw to Major Hamilton, Captain Birnie, &c.; while my brother goes to Captain Buchanan, Bedlay, Garnkirk Tolcorse, the Castlemilk family, & the freeholders in the lower part of the Shire. By this means we expect to bear the earliest accounts ourselves to the different parts of the county, & will do our utmost either to secure 1st or 2nd votes or to prevail upon the gentlemen to attend at the Michaelmas Head Court to see justice done to the Claimants.

After making the round of the county I am to dedicate some days to the perusal of the claims & to the study of the objections and answers which, in case of a trial of strength, may possibly appear at the Michaelmas Head Court, so as to be prepared to enter into a discussion of that matter at the Michaelmas Meeting.

The letters written at Rosneath to Mr. Ross McKye are forwarded to him.

I would beg leave to your Grace that it may be proper to give Lady Charlotte Edwin

an early intelligence of this new plan, the manner it has come about & the motives of it. The 1st accounts to Lady Charlotte will come more properly from your Grace than any other quarter, & if Lady Charlotte would write a letter of approbation of the measure it might be of use with some persons in the county.

I beg leave to present my respects to Lord Lorne, & have the honour to be with great truth

Your Grace' most faithful &
devoted humble servant,
ANDREW STUART.

On Friday last I received from Lord Galloway a letter, whereof the enclosed is a copy. I keep the original to show to-morrow to Dalziell.

NOTE.—This letter must have been written in 1767, when the Court of Session at Edinburgh found in favour of the Duke of Hamilton, and pronounced the child produced as her son by Lady Jane to be a stranger. In the Winter Exhibition of the Royal Academy in 1908 a good portrait of the "swarthy boy stranger," painted when by the House of Lords decision he had succeeded to the Bothwell Castle and other estates and was a grown man, was shown. This portrait is by Gainsborough, and represents him in a red coat, cane in hand, and of dark complexion and good-natured face.

ELIZABETH DUCHESS OF HAMILTON AND ARGYLL

Because the English family of Gunning, settled in the seventeenth century in Roscommon, had followed arms rather than commerce, and had "entertained" more than its finances could stand at the house of Castle Coote, it has been spoken of as though of common station. A dramatic effect has been sought by picturing a contrast between its position and that which its daughters won. But there is more fancy than fact in such colouring of their story. They came of good ancient Saxon blood, and Gunning was a name held in high esteem from the days when English history was forming, to those when Colonel Gunning married a daughter of the house of Mayo, an Irish Earl, whose title was pronounced as "Meyo," and whose family name was Bourke, a name most ably represented by many a gallant gentleman to this day.

Bridget Bourke, when she married Colonel Gunning, did what many another high-spirited and well-born Irish girl had the ambition to do, namely saw something of the world as the wife of a soldier. When three children, all girls, came, and grew up to be admired by all who saw them, she was proud of them, and desired them to take their place in a wider society than that of her husband's military friends or the squires' families of the neighbourhood of their Irish

ELIZABETH, DUCHESS OF HAMILTON

After a portrait by Gavin Hamilton, about 1773

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home. So she took them to Dublin, and then to London, where their good looks created a "furore" which would have completely turned the heads of most mothers and their girls. But all three did credit to their mother's nurture, and dignity and purity and prudence were the guards of their beauty. The mob troubled them so much by following and staring at them in the Mall that other guards, in the shape of His Majesty's soldiers, were on at least one occasion ordered to see that they walked His Majesty's highway in peace. The letters of Walpole and other contemporary writers show the wondrous popularity of the sisters.

The Duke of Hamilton, whose Dukedom was the oldest in Scotland, succeeded in winning the hand of Elizabeth. He died young, leaving her with a daughter who made an unhappy marriage with Lord Derby, and two sons, both of whom became in succession Dukes of Hamilton. The younger was a handsome youth, about whom there is much to read in the letters from Dr. Moore, who travelled with him. I give the letters of Dr. Moore, who was the father of the famous Sir John Moore, killed at Corunna, after conducting a marvellous retreat before the greatly superior forces of Napoleon and Soult. Sir John is mentioned in his father's letters. It seems that it was only because the Duchess of Hamilton succeeded in obtaining a commission for young Moore in the 51st Regiment that the British army did not lose his services, as Dr. Moore mentions that his son was so much pleased with the appearance of the Prussian army that he was ambitious of entering that service. It is remarkable also that it was through the influence of the Duchess of Hamilton

that Wolfe got his commission, so that she was "justified in her children," as her Scottish minister at Hamilton would have said.

Her second husband was of her father's profession, that of arms. The Marquis of Lorne was in the 3rd Guards, and when he proposed, his suit was at once accepted, and a family of two sons and two daughters were born of the second marriage. Both the boys succeeded to the family estates, so that their mother was called "the wife of two Dukes and the mother of four." The girls Charlotte and Augusta were both good-looking. A picture of Charlotte by Hoppner is given here. She married Campbell of Shawfield and Islay, and Lord Granville and Captain Walter Campbell, Deputy Ranger of Windsor Park, are among her descendants.

Elizabeth was an excellent wife and mother, and only too indulgent. She was so good a friend to her Hamilton daughter, Lady Derby, that she never ceased to plead for her after she left her husband, and she quarrelled with the Queen, who very properly declined to receive the runaway wife at Court, her invariable and reasonable rule being against overlooking any such trespass. Again, with regard to her eldest son by the second marriage, she was never severe enough in blaming him for a selfish extravagance on which the Duke of Argyll, his father, commented with the bitterness shown in one of these letters. She was the most beautiful and one of the best of women, not only of her time, but of any century of whose story we have a record. Her personal courage was remarkably shown on two occasions. When the Wilkes mobs obtained for a time the control of the London streets, a crowd of miscreants filled the forecourt

LADY CHARLOTTE CAMPBELL, DAUGHTER OF DUCHESS OF HAMILTON AND ARGYLL, AS AURORA

After Hoppner

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of Argyll House roaring that they would wreck the place if lights in honour of Wilkes were not instantly shown at the windows. The Duchess, who was alone in the house with a few servants, commanded that none should be shown, and managed to get a message conveyed to the troops, who came in time to disperse the mob and save her. Again, at the end of her life in 1790, while returning home through France, her carriage was pelted with stones, and she showed the utmost courage, which, however, on this last occasion was backed by the pistols of her husband and his menservants.

The Duchess of Hamilton to Lady Mary Coke (née Campbell), Daughter of Duke of Argyll and Greenwich.

HAMILTON, *July* 3, 1758.

You that can write upon all subjects well ought to be better to your friends, and allow them the satisfaction of a letter, even when there is no Public news. I hear that there are other things to be informed of besides Fleets and Armies. Perhaps you have frightened yeself about love. It is not safe to write on that subject when le Cœur is attendri. I believe it is dangerous, and you fear I sh^d^ say "elle decouvre son amour par des sotises Choses qui lui echappent"; but you have by your silence on that affair informed me quite as well as if you had wrote a sheet of paper on it, and I have set you down in my mind as a Lost Thing. It rejoices me to hear that the man [supposed to be the Prince San Severino] is given over. I w^d^ not have my dear Lady Mary so ill, nay, I am sure she c^d^ not be so very ill, without

being much with a Person that was far gone. As I hear he is deserving, I don't wonder that you have caught the disease. The anxiety of your mind to see him suffer so much must have taken effect upon one si sensible as you; and I wish with all my heart, that I may be able to direct my letters to a happier Lady Mary *something* than even the Lady Mary Coke. I w^d have you only alter ye name, and that only if you think another w^d make you pass Life more agreeably, for in downright earnest I have an affection for you, and my best wishes attend you under any name you please. Adieu. Je suis à vous.

E. H. and B.

This letter is full of affection, yet Lady Mary persistently accused the Duchess of slighting her, and of acting unkindly and speaking unkindly in regard to her. She imagined that the Duchess had laughed at her for thinking that the Duke of York was in love with her. Lady Mary was certainly always on the look-out for what she imagined to be faults of manner in the Duchess, arising from her not being so subservient as she was herself to forms of etiquette, and not so fond of following other persons of rank. Indeed, it was always remarked how odd it was that Lady Mary, so high-born herself, should not have been more indifferent than she appeared to notice from members of reigning families. The Duchess never cared for this at all. It was not she but some Irish herald who wrote her down as 33rd in descent from Charlemagne, a distinction the Bourkes must have shared with very many. But to Lady Mary the company of the highest placed in rank was a matter of ever

greater importance the older she grew. Her unhappy marriage with W. Coke of Norfolk naturally made her solitary life, when separated from him, an existence susceptible to impressions of all kinds, and she liked to feel herself honoured when she had been brutally treated by the man who should have been the first to honour her. Another letter of which the Duchess kept a copy is quoted in Lady Coke's Memoirs:

The Duchess of Hamilton to Lady Mary Coke.

HAMILTON, *Aug.* 11, 1758.

Too well I know that anybody who gives credit to all that they hear must be deceived, but the subject already I wrote upon seemed to me so proper that it was impossible for me to resist the Inclination I felt to ask the question. You have done me a great deal of Honor in so freely writing your thoughts of the affair, and you may depend upon my silence. You are the best judge as to whether you could or could not be Happy with him. All I have to say is, that whenever you do change your condition I sincerely wish that you may meet with the man who deserves you. As to what you have wrote on this subject, I hope it is unnecessary for me to repeat an assurance of silence. I give you my Honor it is just as safe as though you had never mentioned it. Poor Prince Sanseverino! I am really sorry for him. The man's face is the picture of misery. I fancy he has had a presentiment of his misfortune, which has had an effect on his countenance. You see, my dear Lady Mary, that I am not a negligent correspondent. I hope you have not repented your desire of hearing from me. If it had not been

a Rule with me never to take a hint, I sh[d] have certainly taken yours, as you begin your letter with thinking I can be so stupid as to find your Epistles Troublesome. I wrote to you last week, and directed for you at Wentworth Castle. It seems I was wrong. Perhaps you will not receive it. Do not, dear Queen Mary, grieve, for there was nothing in the letter except a desire to be forgiven if my jokes had offended, which I now Repeat, I wish me to believe me,

Very much yours,
E. Hamilton & Brandon.

"Queen Mary" must have been another joke the hoity-toity Lady Mary did not approve. She at all events throughout her after-life always spoke as though the Duchess were unfriendly to her, when the opposite was the case, though Lady Mary's airs and graces were sufficiently amusing, and the line she took regarding Lady Derby did not mend matters with the mother.

Elizabeth Duchess of Hamilton and Argyll.

Oh black's the heart that does not own
  The magic of some woman's wand,
And cursed the wretch who from her throne
  Would banish Beauty's sceptred hand.

Nay, more ; beyond our sense and sight
  We, moulded by another age,
Should love to know, in fullest light,
  The Authors of our heritage.

And here we may recall the spell
  Sir Joshua's canvas tried to show,
And read the written thoughts that tell
  The vanished world 'twas hers to know,—

FALLS OF THE CLYDE, NEAR HAMILTON PALACE

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The Dame whose beauty's radiance came
  Of Norman, Erse, and Yorkist blood,
Who won, by rarest Virtue's claim,
  All prizes loved of womanhood,—

The fate that sets the fairest flower
  Within the palaces of state,
Beloved, to reign with Honour's dower
  In dignity inviolate.

We see the girl of Mayo's line
  From Erin's shore take town by storm,
And waters of the Clyde and Tyne
  Acclaim with Thames her faultless form.

Her gaze was fearless, calm and bright;
  Her lips a roseate archery,—
The sign that gentleness is might
  Within the Home's sweet sanctuary.

Nor quailed when angry mobs had roared
  "Light up your house for Wilkes, or die";
But with her slender guard restored
  Law, broken down in anarchy.

An artist painted aster flowers,
  Rebelling 'gainst the Sun, their King,
Turn all day long, through all the hours,
  To bend before her, worshipping.

And Rebels 'gainst Oblivion's stress
  We, proud of all her gracious days,
Her children's children, turn to bless
  Her life, with History's deathless praise.

CORRESPONDENCE, 1765–1790

Lieut.-Col. Stuart to the Duchess of Hamilton.

TORRENCE, *Monday, July* 1, 1765.

L. C. Stuart hopes to afford some satisfaction
To Her Grace the Dutchess of Hamilton and the

Marquis by The following Copy of a Letter from M. Danjon, which he found upon his arrival here.

MONSIEUR,

Il y a 24 heures que J'ai quitté Mr votre frère à Rheims, après environ 3 Semaines de séjour, et Je me suis chargé auprès de lui, en partant, de vous faire part de la satisfaction qu'il en remporte sur la preuve que nous y avons faites. Tous nos faits y ont été prouvés par des Témoins irréprochables, et presque tous les Efforts des parties adverses ont tournés contre eux. Ils n'ont trouvés que deux témoins, qui ayants vus Lady Jane, une *seule* fois, ont déposés, qu'elle leur avoit parue *Marcher* et *s'asseoir* comme *une femme Grosse*. Tout le reste a porté contre eux, sur nos contre-questions. Mais ils ont eu Le plus Grand et le plus ridicule Echec sur l'Histoire de la fausse couche. Ils en ont trouvés *Trois* en ne cherchant que la *première*, Et cela est devenu si absurde qu'ils en doivent être honteux. De là, Il n'y a preuve d'aucune, et Il est même arrivé que quelques uns de leurs Témoins ont déposés *des Faits*, qui ne sont arrivés que long tems après Le Tems où ils ont dits les avoir vu, et dans un Lieu où il est constaté qu'un Témoin n'étoit ni ne pouvoit être. Il seroit trop long de vous en faire ni le Détail que vous verrez bientôt à Edinbourg. Mr votre Frère est parti avec Mr Doutrement pour Sedan, Liège, Aix la Chapelle, et Bruxelles, où il doit avoir moins à craindre des efforts des parties adverses qu'à Rheims, Loin du dernier période de cette Grossesse.

Mad. La Duchesse de Douglas est à la suitte de la preuve hors Paris—comme elle a été dans

Paris, et cela est constaté par les Dépositions de tous les Témoins.

J'ai l'honneur, &c., &c.,

J. DANJON.

à Paris ce 13 *de Juin* 1765.

I had almost forgot to tell your Grace, how fortunate we have been in having Lady Dalziel examined ; if the report which prevails be true, that she has swore to being present at ye reading of a Letter dated Aug't 1748 from Lady Jane to Lady Mary Hamilton, where she mentions her being taken Short, somewhere upon *ye Road*, but not *at Paris*. I acquainted your Grace, that upon our endeavours to examin Lady Mary, she was represented as out of her senses—but as this, as well as Miss Kerr's refusal, has an Air of Mystery, I have by this post wrote to London and Edin'r. to take ye proper steps in Law to force the Examination of both. Since if this Letter can be found, or the Contents swore to, It will be Cheque Matt to the adversary.

I have not seen Lady Dalziel's evidence. I have wrote for it, and shall do myself the honour to forward it to your Grace, along with those of Lord Ancrum and Lord Cathcart.

L. S.

The Duchess of Hamilton to Lady Gower.

July 15, 1765.

MY DEAR,

I have just received yours of the 9th and am delighted with the thoughts of Miss Leicester [fancy name for Princess Augusta, Princess Royal, who married Prince Ferdinand of Bruns-

wick, later Duke of Brunswick] being here so soon. Indeed it is more upon your account than hers, though I shall be glad to see her too: I think it is delightful for you, for I hope she is not changed in regard to you. I am doubly interested in wishing it because I shall have a little share in her esteem if you have anything to say with her; but without any selfish motive, I wish you success in everything, which I hope you believe. I suppose by your expecting her so soon that you have latterly had letters from her. I wish there may be no stop put to it. I was desired to come to Town (when I was in favour) about the middle of August, because Doctors differed about the time of the lying in, but I believe it will not be before the first week in September. It will be the same thing to me when it happens, for I believe I shall not be there, and at present do not wish it except to see you, tho' I am persuaded that I thank Toutie very much if Miss Leicester comes, for fear I should like her better.

I am quite *tranquille* here, and have no wish but to see you, though if I were to trouble myself about Politics I should be uneasy, for things in appearance are much changed since we left Town; however it is not to be exactly as you wish, though something like it. I have had a long letter from Lady Dalkeith. She enquires much after you, and seems in wonderful spirits. Her History of Sally and Mr. B. is delightful. It must be amusing to the Spectators. It is astonishing how any woman can put herself in such a light. It is enough to frighten one to think what our sex is capable of. I hope you will be well entertained at York Races, and that you will

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LETTER FROM DUCHESS OF HAMILTON TO QUEEN CHARLOTTE, ANNOUNCING DECISION OF SCOTS COURT IN FAVOUR OF HER SON

not show much attention to the old Lady, nor be flattered with hers in a place that she will have nobody else to show it to. Adieu, my dear.

Always yours,
E. H. A.

The children and My Lord desire to be remembered.

Miss L.'s coming will, I am afraid, prevent your being in Scotland this year. Give my love to Lady D.

The Chamberlain to the Duchess of Hamilton.

MADAM,

All Arran is now broke loose with their petitions & Representations; in other words, their detractions & calumny. They don't make quite so agreeable reading as the good offers I'm receiving from the other hand, of a large advance of rent for the farms out of lease. Arran is somewhat behind & old-fashioned: in place of concluding a bargain by fair bidding, it tries to come at it by calling the offerer on the other side a villain & rascal; without considering that 'tis of little consequence to any but themselves, though they both stand under that description.

The best method I can think of to remove the present bone of contention from the island is, to set such a rate upon the lands in dispute that he who gets them shall not be so much an object of his neighbours' envy. By that means, & by no other, we shall be able to accomodate the dispute.

The bearer, Dr. Fulerton, begs & prays I would write to your Grace—I can say nothing

further—I have heard all the nonsense on both sides—there is only one FACT in the whole: that he draws more salary than his original appointment. This shall be enquired into, for on that the whole turns. With pleasure I wish the Marquis joy of the Royals. I beg leave to make an early application to him, & I hope your Grace will support it. 'Tis that as one of his Battalions is now in this country, he, either as Colonel or General on the Staff for Scotland, would direct a company, or rather 2, to be quartered at Hamilton next winter, in order that they may be employed in ditching several farms we shall be bound to enclose.

I have the honour to be with the highest respect

Your Grace's most obedient & humble servant,

THE CHAMBERLAIN.

CALDWELL, 20*th Oct.* 1765.

The Duchess of Hamilton to the Queen.

MADAM,

The Douglas Cause was Decided this Day in favour of the Pursuers. As your Majesty did me the Honour to say that you would Read the Memorial, I think it my Duty to acquaint your Majesty of the Effect it has occasioned here; if I take too great Liberty I must intreat your Majesties forgiveness, & beg you will believe that I mean only to shew the attention & respect with which I have the Honour to be

Your Majesties most obedient & most Dutiful Humble Servant,

E. HAMILTON, &c.

EDIN^{R}, *July y^{e}* 14th, 1767.

The Duke of Bedford to the Duchess of Hamilton.

LONDON, *July* 21*st*, 1767.

MADAM,

Your Grace's letter has given me great satisfaction, as well for the communicating to me an Event which is of so material consequence to you, and my young Friend, Duke Hamilton, as in convincing me of your Grace's good opinion of my sincere Friendship to you and your family.

I have the honor to be

Your Grace's most faithfull humble Servant,

BEDFORD.

DUTCHESS OF HAMILTON.

(*On Decision of Court of Session in favour of her son.*)

NOTE.—This Duke was one of only half a dozen Peers who protested against the Lords' decision, which reversed the Scots Judges' verdict. These Peers did not divide the House, but handed in a protest after the House had given its decision.

The Duchess of Hamilton to Lady Gower.

GLASGOW, *May* 29, 1769.

I am really glad to hear Lady Caroline is so much better. I dare say she will not get her strength so fast as you can wish; at present I know by experience that it takes time to recover after a fever, for here we are still, and do not know when the Duke [the Duke of Hamilton, her son] will be able to take even so short a journey as to Roseneath, though his fever has never been very violent. I am very glad you did not go into the Room where the children are. People may laugh at us, but it can do no harm to be careful. I never doubted of the Duke of

Grafton's being in love, nor of Miss Bottyt [?]. Lord Bolingbroke is tired, I suppose, of talking so much and so long to no purpose. I do not understand it. When he gives it quite up, Miss Pelham will run quite mad; I am really sorry for her. I can never believe Lord Huntington will marry. He holds women in such a contemtable light that to be sure he never will, never, trust one of us with his honour. If he gives it at last to a girl of sixteen, perhaps she will confirm him in his opinion of her sex. He puts me in mind of Lord Eglinton, who I have seen here twice since I came: just the same as ever, whistling for want of thought, though he makes his People here think it is his great attention to his affairs that makes him appear absent. Eliza desires me to give her love to you. Adieu, ma chère.

[No signature.]

The Duchess of Hamilton to Lady Gower.

GLASGOW, *May* 30, 1769.

I wish, my Dear, only to let you know that the Duke's weakness keeps us still in Town. You can easily imagine how disagreeable it is to be so long in an Inn, and a Scotch one, and very far from being alone. This last circumstance to many would be delightful, but I am not of the opinion of an old Proverb which I need not repeat to you. I fancy in a few days now the Duke will be able to take the air and go to Roseneath, where he wishes to be as much as I do. I received your letter yesterday. Do you know, I was very sorry to find you had taken Lady Anne to Kensington. Children are more apt to catch infection from one another than from others. Pray do not

take her again if there is the least illness in the family. I should like to know what that poor Lady Elizabeth was saying to spitfire Lady W. [Waldegrave ?]. I shall be glad to hear of your being quite well and strong, my Dear, and that you are well enough to appear the Birthday [of the King]. If you go give my love to the King. Adieu, my Dear. Don't let Lord Gower see my letters, but give my comp^ts^ to him. Lord Lorne and Eliza desire theirs.

Ever yours,
E. H. A.

Dear Toutie, Pray do not forget to let us know all the news. Adieu. Y^r^ affec^ate^

E. HAMILTON.

[Postscript from Bettie Hamilton, afterwards Lady Derby.]

The Countess of Waldegrave to the Duchess of Hamilton.

MY DEAR DUCHESS,

I mean to set forth to-morrow for Cheshire, from whence I shall go to Scarbro^r^ & then to Scotland. I will write to you again when I get to Scarbro^r^, where I hope to hear from you. I am very sorry the Duke of Hamilton has been so ill; I hope he is quite recovered. Ld Campbell is perfectly well; I sent the Children to see him this evening, as I could not go myself, & they are come home quite in love with him.

Adieu, My dear Duchess.

I am ever sincerely Yours,
A. WALDEGRAVE.

WIMPOLE STREET,
Tuesday, June 5, 1769.

(*Addressed*) TO DUCHESS HAMILTON.

Catharine Read to the Duchess of Argyll.*

MADAM,

According to your Grace's desire I have ship'd the Crayon Picture directed for Mr. Davidson, Writer to the Signet, at Edinburgh. I cou'd not think of drawing on him for the money (tho' desir'd), as I am about the other Picture for your Grace, which will be finish'd in about a fortnight, and then I shall be glad to know where it is to be sent, or if it is to be left with me till your Grace's return. I am going no further off than next door to Marybone Church.

I inclose the Ship Master and Frame Maker's Receipts, and I am most respectfully, Madam,

Your Grace's most oblig'd and
obedient humble Servt.
CATHARINE READ.

LONDON,
July 2nd, 1771.

On recolecting that 'tis probable your Grace may be in the Country, I shall send the Ship Master's Receipt to Mr. Davidson at Edinburgh.

Mr. Donald Campbell to the Duchess of Argyll.

[Probably 1772.]

MADAM,

I understand that Lord North, tho' much disposed to obey the Duchess of Argyll's commands, cannot take it upon himself to say that a letter to the Nabob is to be sent from the King this season.

The Nabob's agents, with whom I am in habits of confidence, now assure me that unless I was the messenger of a redress of grievances

* The famous lady artist who painted in pastel the Duchess of Hamilton.

which he has long complained of, any despatches in the hackneyed style would be of little service, as they have lost the pleasure of novelty, & he requires something more solid than empty compliments & unavailing professions which is not likely to be complied with at this present period. The obliging concern which your Grace has taken to promote our interest has impressed Mr. Campbell & myself with unfeigned gratitude —a new field in that country is going to be opened in a very few days, from which I think a plentiful crop will arise. Mr. Wm. Burke, cousin of the famous orator of the same name, happened to be at Madras unemployed soon after the restoration of the Rajah or Prince of Tanjore, who had been displaced by the Nabob & East India Company. He came home with a letter from him to His Brittanick Majesty, & was long soliciting an answer without effect; however within these 3 months, Lord North, through constant importunity, & by means of Lady Ailesbury, the Hertfords, & others (Mr. Burke having been originally secretary to General Conway), has promised him an answer to the Rajah of Tanjore, but has put it off from day to day, so that the letter is not yet delivered. If a higher power would be prevailed upon to nominate me the bearer of this Despatch to Tanjore, I apprehend that Lord North would not feel mortified that a feather was put in the cap of one protected by a family so attached to him & to Government, rather than to a person who is hostile to them both.

Indeed this consideration leads me to believe that his Lordship's promise was general & of that sort which he well knows how to dispense with upon occasions, even without the inter-

ference of a higher authority. I have ventured to commit these ideas to paper, leaving to your Grace's good sense to determine on the propriety of what I earnestly wish—perhaps a consciousness of your Grace's goodness & power has encouraged me to be too troublesome—I must acknowledge I could not have asked so essential an obligation from any other greater.

I have the honour to be, Madam,

Your Grace's

Yery faithful & obliged servant,

DONALD CAMPBELL.

ARGYLL STREET, *Wednesday.*

Mr. Andrew Stuart to the Duchess of Argyll.

LONDON, 11 *June,* 1773.

MY LADY DUCHESS,

The Bill of Regulations for India has now received a third reading. The House of Commons sat upon it till 1 o'clock this morning, when the whole of that Indian business was settled, so far as relates to that House, and the Governor and Council established by the bill are, Mr Hastings, Governor, General Clavering, Colll Monson, Mr Barwell, and Mr Francis, Counsellors.

I know it will give your Grace uneasiness that I am not of the number, or at least that the offer was not made to me; but in the progress of this affair, there have been various agreeable circumstances which diminish my regret at the disappointment. There has been such a concourse of respectable friends who have interested themselves warmly in my cause as has seldom fallen to the share of an Individual. I am thoroughly convinced, and have great reason to be so, that Lord N.* had the best

* Lord North, Prime Minister.

dispositions towards me; he exprest his opinion and his wishes in my favour in the strongest and most obliging terms to various persons who were with him on this subject. There was but one obstacle to my being appointed; he wished it to be removed: it would not be proper for me to mention it in a Letter, but Your Grace will be at no loss to discover what that obstacle was.

The nomination of the Councellors was kept open as long as possible, and, as I am informed, this was done with a view to take every chance of Lord N. having it in his power to name me without giving offence in a certain quarter; his own good wishes in this respect were confirmed by a variety of recommendations in my favour made without my knowlege. At length, when the List of Councellours for India was settled without my being of the number, the resolution was taken by a number of very respectable persons to take the sense of the House of Commons whether my name should not be inserted in place of one of the names contained in the Minister's List. Mr. Grosvenor, brother to Lord Grosvenor, wrote a Letter to Lord N. intimating that it was his intention to move this question in the House, and that several of his Lordship's best friends concurred with him in their sentiments with regard to the propriety of my being named of this Commission. Sir Wm Baggot had agreed to second Mr. Grosvenor's motion, but unfortunately on the evening before the matter came into the House of Commons Sir Wm Baggot received an express with the melancholy accounts of the death of his eldest son, which prevented his attending. Sir Wm Dolben, Member for Northamptonshire, agreed to supply his place, and to second the

motion, and they were to have been supported by some of the most considerable Members in the House, composed partly of the friends to administration as well as of the opposition Members; amongst others both the Attorney and Sollicitor General had taken a decided part in my favour and had intimated to the Minister their resolution of dividing for me in this question; Lord Mountstuart, Lord Beauchamp, Lord George Germaine, Mr. Townshend and Mr. Cornwall, Mr. Bradshaw, Mr. Skinner, Mr. Crawfurd, General Fraser, and many others had also taken their parts decidedly.

But while the House was debating in a Contest that had arisen on account of General Monkton's not being named of the Commission, Mr. Crawfurd came to me from the House of Commons to acquaint me of what had past between Lord N. and him upon his acquainting his Lordship of the resolution which he and other friends had taken of supporting my name ag^t one of the names contained in the ministerial List: it appeared from what past on that occasion that Lord N. reckoned himself bound to make a point of carrying his List, by which means it became a deep political question the fate of which might draw to very serious consequences. In this situation it occurred to me and to some of my friends that the most suitable part for me to act was to put an end to this contest. For this purpose I sent a request to Mr. Grosvenor expressing my sense of his friendship but begging that he might not push the matter to a division of the House; at the same time gave my friend a message to deliver to Lord N. acquainting his Lordship that I was so sensible of his good dispositions and intentions with

ELIZABETH, DUCHESS OF HAMILTON AND ARGYLL
1770

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regard to me in the whole of this business that it was far from my intention to push any measure that might have the appearance of being hostile to him or that might produce the appearance of so many of his particular friends being ag^t him in this question, and that therefor I had taken the resolution to prevent the motion being made that was intended in my favour. The return made by Lord N. to my friend who delivered to him this message was that he reckoned himself vastly obliged to me for what I had done, that he did not think Mr. Grosvenor's motion could have been successfull to me, but as it might have been troublesome or disagreeable to him he thought himself obliged to me for the compliment I had paid to him.

The strong sense I had of Lord N. good wishes with regard to me which he had exprest to several of my friends, and the duty I owed to those friends who tho' connected with administration had resolved at all hazards to support the nomination of me in opposition to the ministerial List, were the motives which determined me to avoid the contest, and I have the satisfaction to find that the part I acted on this occasion has met with very general approbation.

Mr. Grosvenor took occasion to acquaint the House of the motion he intended to have made in my favour, and to say some things very obliging with regard to me, at the same time acquainted them how he had been prevented from making that motion by a message from me. Mr. Cornwall rose after him and gave a warm testimony in my favour, which he accompanied with an account of the manner in which the offer of the situation of Supervisor had been

made to me by two successive Chairmen of the India Company without any sollicitation either on my part or on that of my friends.

On the whole, tho' I have not succeeded so far as to be of the nomination, I have been a considerable gainer by the appearance of such a number of respectable friends as have stood forth for me on this occasion. Every body perceives or guesses at the true cause why I have not been named; it is such as I am not ashamed of, nor does it produce any regret in me, for tho' I acknowledge that my heart was very much bent on so great an object as that of being employed in the distinguished situation of one of the Parliamentary Councellours to India, yet there was another object much nearer to my heart, I mean the vindication of my own honour and of the interests of truth which gave rise to those Letters which have proved the obstacle to my success at present. It is an inconvenience which I foresaw at the time of the publication, therefor it does not come upon me by surprise. Were it to do over again I should certainly do the same thing I have done. No situation or mark of favour could have made me so happy as the unburdening my mind of the contents of these 4 Letters has done.

I shall not make any apology for the length of this Letter, as I know the interest Your Grace is so good as to take in what concerns me and had received your commands to send a particular account of the fate of this business, which I have delayed untill the matter was finally settled in the House of Commons; till then it could not be known exactly what turns it might have taken.

FALLS OF THE CLYDE, NEAR HAMILTON PALACE

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Lord Frederick Campbell,* who was so good as to interest himself warmly for me on this occasion, took an opportunity of mentioning the subject to General Conway before he went to the House, and from what past I am persuaded that if the matter had been contested I should have had the honour and advantage of his support; in short there have been few instances of such a respectable appearance of friends as fell to my share in a Case so delicately circumstanced.

I beg leave to present my respects to The Duke of Argyle and all your Grace's family, and have the honour to be

Your Grace's most faithfull
and obed^t Servant,
AND^W STUART.

NOTE.—A letter which is curious as showing the institution of the Council for India.

Mr. Andrew Stuart to the Duchess of Argyll.

MY LADY DUCHESS,

Some posts agoe I had the honour to write to Your Grace a pretty full account of those incidents in India matters which You was pleased to express a desire to be informed of. Since that time I have received Your Grace's Letter on the subject of the Airshire election; next day it was communicated to Baron Mure and Mr Ross Mackye: there was but one voice and opinion on the subject. We agreed not

* 2nd brother of the 5th Duke of Argyll. He had a fine collection of pictures which he bequeathed to Lord Amherst, whose descendant possesses them at Montreal, in Kent, a place called after the Canadian Montreal.

only that the signification of your pleasure with regard to the disposal of the qualifications to be made by the Duke in Airshire should be decisive with regard to that article, but concurred in thinking that nothing could be more just and proper in every respect than the motives which had determined your Grace to give this mark of favour to Sir Adam Fergusson, who besides his general merit as one of the fittest men in this Island to be a Representative in Parliament, has particular merit with the Duke of Hamilton's family for his zealous attachment to their interest, and for the able assistance he gave in an affair of the utmost importance to the prosperity and interests of his Grace's family.

Within these few days I have wrote to Sir Adam acquainting him of the Letter Your Grace was pleased to write in his favour and of the communication of it to the other Tutors, at the same time acquainted him how it had originated entirely from Your Grace, which I was persuaded would in every respect be more agreeable and more usefull to him than if it had been first suggested by the Tutors.

I have wrote to Mr Davidson to exert himself in establishing and increasing the Duke's political interest in all the Countys where his property or Superiority Estates naturally entitle him to have considerable influence, particularly in the Countys of Clidsdale, Renfrew, and Air. I trust that this matter will not be neglected, especially as Baron Mure, who is an excellent Prompter in every thing where the Duke's interest is concerned, is now gone to Scotland.

I intend to be in Scotland in the month of August on purpose to give any aid in my power

to the Duke's affairs in general and to this material branch of his business in particular, but I have not said so to Mr Davidson because I wish him to exert himself without any reliance or assistance from me.

By a Letter lately received from Scotland I find that a Charter is now passing in Exchequer of the Douglas Estate, with a view of making votes; this is a plain indication that this Rival power in the County means to dispute the next Election with the Duke of Hamilton's family. In a Letter which I have this day wrote to Mr Davidson I make use of this as an additional argument for his giving all dispatch and attention in the establishing the votes to be made by the Duke.

I forgot to enquire at Your Grace before leaving this, whether you had taken an opportunity of speaking to Lord North, either to engage his interest and countenance on the Duke of Hamilton's side at the next General Election, or at least to prevent his giving that interest to any contending Party. It occurrs to me that it might be of use to secure these points now, for I know some instances of applications of the same nature that have been already made to Lord North for next General Election; and as The Duke of Queensberry is generally very alert on these occasions, so much so that upon a recent occasion he applied tho' in vain to Lord North for his interest in Perthshire against the Duke of Atholl's family in favour of Mr. Graham, I am apprehensive that if the matter is too long delayed some advantage may be taken to the prejudice of the Duke of Hamilton's interest in Clidsdale by engaging Lord North to give his support to a rival interest before he is

apprised how much the Duke of Hamilton's family have the County of Clidsdale at heart.

If this matter presents itself to Your Grace in the same point of view, I would beg leave to submit it to consideration whether it might not be expedient that Your Grace took the trouble of writing a Letter to Lord North on this subject, to engage his support in favour of the Candidate to be proposed by the Duke of Hamilton's family, and if Your Grace pleases to send that Letter under cover to me before my leaving this place I shall have an opportunity of delivering it unto his Lordship's own hands and will be able to report to Your Grace the effect of it.

I beg leave to present my best respects to The Duke of Argyle and all Your Grace's family, and have the honour to be with the highest respect and attachment

Your Grace's most faithfull and
obed^t humble Servant,
AND^W STUART.

BERKLEY SQUARE,
Saturday, 26 June, 1773.

Mr. Andrew Stuart to the Duchess of Argyll.

MY LADY DUCHESS,

When I had last the honour to write to Your Grace, I expected to have been in Clidsdale soon after the date of that Letter, for tho' I found myself not very well at even that time, I did not mean to lay aside my visit to Clidsdale on account of what at first appeared to me only a slight indisposition; but in a day or two after writing to Your Grace, I was seized with a serious and regular fit of the Gout, and to that succeeded a pretty severe Rheumatism attended

with a fever. By this coalition of infirmities (more formidable than the political coalition in Clidsdale), I have been confined to the house and mostly to my room for near 5 weeks past. The fever left me some time agoe, and I have now got free of the pains of Gout and Rheumatism, but still so much reduced as to be unable to walk or stand without being supported. In a few days I expect to be able to take an airing in a Chaise, and if that experiment succeeds, will repair to Clidsdale as speedily as possible to attend to the business there.

On many accounts I regretted my confinement at this time, and particularly as it deprived me of an opportunity of waiting upon Your Grace at Inveraray, and has prevented my attending the Michaelmass Head Court which was to be held at Lanark yesterday. The Physician who attends me told me it would be madness in me to attempt it, for supposing it practicable to get me transported there, that it could not faill to occasion a Relapse.

Finding that there was no chance of my being able to attend there personally, every thing that was possible for me to do for supporting the Claims of friends who were to be enrolled at this Meeting has been done. What the fate of it has been I do not yet know, as there is no person as yet returned from Lanark, but expect to have accounts this evening, which if they come before the post sets out shall be inserted in a Postscript.

During part of the time while attacked by Gout and Rheumatism I was not allowed either to write Letters or to do any business, but ever since I was in a good way of recovery, my time and attention to the utmost of my power have

been dedicated to the improvement of the Duke's political interest in Clidsdale and Renfrewshire, by establishing as many Votes as could be compleated this year before Michaelmass, with a view to their being enrolled at Michaelmass 1774. In this way, We have made considerable progress, and the effects of it will, We hope, be felt at next general Election, but besides these Votes now compleated for Mich[s] 1774 We have a large Cargoe yet to make, which will be ready for the day of Election ; it shall be my particular study while in this Country to attend to this branch of business, which, if properly executed, will put the Duke's interest upon a most respectable and permanent footing. I expect to have a great deal of good health after this attack of the Gout, and if so, I hope that in a little time there will be a rapid progress made in this essential business.

M[r] Mackdowal of Castlesemple has two Votes in Clidsdale. I am told that he is now at Inveraray. An application from Your Grace to him on that subject will, I hope, be attended with success; it is of consequence to apply to him early, as upon last occasion his excuse for taking the other side was that he had engaged himself early before knowing for whom Your Grace interested yourself. M[r] Shaw Stewart will, I suppose, give his Vote in Clidsdale to the adverse Party, as The Duke has given his interest in Renfrewshire in support of the joint interest of M[r] Crawfurd and M[r] Mackdowal, but surely this can be no reason for M[r] Mackdowal's also giving his votes in the same way with M[r] Shaw Stewart.

I see that Lord Elphinstoun has made 5 Votes on his Estate which will be ready for

Michaelmass 1774, and have heard that some conversation past between Your Grace and him on that subject while here. I hope his answer was favourable.

As the Season is now so far advanced, and that the business here and visits in Clidsdale will require some weeks of my time at least, I am afraid it will not now be in my power to pay my respects to Your Grace and the Duke of Argyle at Inveraray this season as I wished and intended, but when I hear of the time that Your Grace is to be at Edinb^h^ or at Glasgow in your way here I shall not fail to take the first opportunity of paying my respects.

I beg leave to offer Compliments and best wishes to The Duke of Argyle, Lady Betty, & Lady Augusta, and have the honour to be with great truth

Your Grace's most faithfull and obed^t^
humble servant,
AND^W^ STUART.

Wednesday night [1773 ?].

P.S.—This minute two Gentlemen arrived from the Head Court at Lanark have brought me intelligence that everything past there yesterday precisely in the way I could have wished. All the friends who claimed to be enrolled have been admitted, vizt 5 on the Duke of Hamilton's Estate, 6 on Sir George Colebrook's, two Votes purchast by Mr. John Crawfurd from the Marquiss of Tweeddale and one by Sir Wm Cunningham. Mr. Buchanan, Nephew to Captain Buchanan, and Mr. Alexander Houstoun's Son, and Mr. Carmichael of Mauldslie are also admitted. These with an enrolment in favour of one Mr. Baillie make the Sum total of enrolments at this time. So the addition of strength

gained by yesterday's business in consequence of the operations of last year is very considerable.

Mr. John Davidson to the Duchess of Argyll.

MADAME,

I have the honour of your Grace's of the 13th this day. I would not have presumed to have given permission to Mr. Miller to have the access to the Palace at Hamilton, unless the matter had been formerly stated to His Grace's Commissioners and they had approved of it. I do not know the young man, nor have I any connexion with him, and I remember it appeared to the Commissioners merely as what might give some aid to genius and what has been allowed often in that view, wherever there are pictures drawn by Great Masters; but the moment I understood from Mr. Boyes, that it was not agreeable to your Grace, I wrote to have Mr. Miller dismissed, and proposed to have seen what he had done, and to have wrote your Grace on the matter, hoping you would excuse what only proceeded from my ignorance.

I have inclosed the list of the freeholders of Lanark 1770, w'ch is the latest I have, and a note of the new votes. I suppose there may be alterations since the 1770, of w'ch I have wrote Mr. Boyes to send me a Copy, w'ch I shall transmit to you.

I have the honour to be with the highest esteem and regard, Madam,

Your Grace's most obliged and most
obed't humble Serv't,
JOHN DAVIDSON.

EDIN'R, 16*th July*, 1773.

Her Grace the Dutchess of Argyll.

Baron Mure to the Duchess of Argyll.

MADAM,

I have the honour of your Grace's Letter of the 16th. I'm affraid the Frequency of my Dispatches may become troublesome; but there is no Help for it. Rather than transcribe, or represent to your Grace John Moore's Case, as he desires, I send you his whole Letter; tho' the first part of it is made up of his witty Nonsense, about my own Business when I was last at London. If your Grace thinks his Justification in the Circumstances he describes sufficient, which I imagine you will be disposed to do, I wish you would take notice of it the first Time you write, for he will be uneasy, poor Fellow, under the Thoughts of any Part of his Conduct, which in general is so meritorious, having incurred your Grace's disapprobation.

I have letters to-day from Hamilton, acquainting me of Poor James Hamilton's Death. His Son applies for his Father's office, and tells me he had wrote to your Grace for that Purpose. He further pleads the Merit of his Father in Law, Nisbet of Carfin, who had given up the Superiority of his Lands, by which we have been enabled to make a Vote in the County. As this is a critical Time with regard to political Influence, I believe it might be as well if your Grace were not immediately to determine who should fill James Hamilton's Place. Perhaps we may have it in our Power to oblige some Body who may be of Use to us in the County. In the mean Time I shall write to Boyes, to continue James Hamilton's Son, under his Inspection, in the Charge of the House, which I understand

he has already taken upon him, till your Grace's Pleasure is known.

My Visit to Hamilton on Saturday sennight was of some Use. I quickened Boyes's Operations with the inferior Vassals. I saw both Dalzell and Wishaw, who are but slow, and Captain Hamilton Birrney, who is very alert. I have prevailed with him to make three new Votes, besides his own. Sir James Stuart makes three also. I have calculated that the Duke may be able to make about twenty-four, in spight of all the Obstructions that have been thrown in our Way. Andrew's Absence is an unspeakable Loss. I have no Body to help me when he is away. He writes me he can't be down before the Middle of August, by which our Case must suffer greatly. However I assure your Grace it shan't be neglected at all Hands.

Upon looking over the List of those agreed on to be made Voters, there are several whose consent must be asked, and some of them I believe must be asked by your Grace; such as Lord Frederick Campbell, Mr. Chartres younger, and Major Hamilton, Lord Haddington's Brother. What suggests this to me is, that Keith Stuart, who was one of the few made last year, I perceive is not pleased that he was not previously acquainted of his Nomination; and says he must have his Father's Opinion, before he accepts; tho' I told him that his Father had proposed him, among the first, before he left this Country, and gave that as an Apology for his not having had Notice of it. No time should be lost in applying to these Gentlemen. I'm sorry to give your Grace this trouble, but I'm affraid 'tis what no Body else can do with Propriety. J. Davidson tells me he sent your

Grace a List of the County by last Post. Shawfield I hear is in play. I wish the Duke could throw an Invitation in his Way to return by Inveraray that you might have a Conference with him. He is a great Card as they are now shuffled. I have the honour to be with the most perfect Attachment and Regard

Your Grace's most obedient and most devoted humble Servant,

WILL MURE.

EDINBURGH, 27*th July*, 1773.

Mr. Andrew Stuart to the Duchess of Argyll.

BERKLEY SQUARE, *July* 30*th*, 1773.

MY LADY DUCHESS,

When your Grace's Letter inclosing that for Lord North came here, his Lordship was at Oxford. When he came to town some days thereafter, I sent the Letter, and with it one from myself, acquainting him that tho' unwilling to incroach upon his time by visits, I should be ready to wait upon his Lordship at any time he would appoint, if he wished to have any information from me relative to the County of Lanark, before answering Your Grace's Letter.

I have not as yet had any message from Lord North in consequence of that Letter; perhaps he has thought it unnecessary, as some time before your Grace's Letter came here, I took an opportunity of acquainting him of several things relative to the County of Lanark, the State of Parties there, and the competition that would probably happen at next General Election. I did not at that time make any

request to his Lordship, knowing that your Grace, from whom the request would come more properly, was to write to him on the subject; but I mentioned these things in the course of a Conversation I had with Lord North, at a Meeting at his own house on other business.

It appeared to me in the course of that conversation that he had not yet received any applications for supporting the opposite interest in Clidsdale, and I do not imagine that after being so fully informed of The Duke of Hamilton's interest and views in the County, that he would be at all likely to take part on the opposite side; but I am told from all quarters that he has such a reluctance to writing of Letters, and so often guilty of neglects in that article, that possibly your Grace's Letter may remain unanswered for some time, even tho' his intentions might be to write a favourable answer. I understand that he has given great offence in many quarters by neglects of this nature. Many persons of the first distinction in this Country complain that they either get no answers from him at all, or at such a distance of time as is almost equal to no answer.

Tho' I mention these things to diminish your Grace's surprise in case no answer be as yet sent by him to Inveraray, yet if no message comes to me in the course of a few days I am resolved either to write again to his Lordship, or to fall upon some other means of learning precisely what part he intends to take in the Clydesdale election; or possibly I may desire to have another interview with his Lordship before leaving this place, tho' I would rather wish that to arise from his invitation than to be too urgent by offering or requesting it on my part.

At any rate I shall not leave this place without learning the answer that has been given or is meant to be given to your Grace's Letter. In all events it must have had this good effect, to prevent Lord North's giving his favour and interest to the other Competitors, which might have been the Case if he had not been made acquainted with the State of the County, and your Grace's zeal to carry it in favour of the person to be named on the part of The Duke of Hamilton.

To compleat this plan of securing the favour and attention of government in support of The Duke's interest, I have received a hint from a person very well informed, and well qualified to judge of these matters, that a Letter from your Grace to Lord Suffolk, Secretary of State for the Northern department, will be highly proper on this occasion, and may be attended with very usefull consequences. What relates to Scots affairs, and Scots elections, belongs properly to the Secretary of State for that Department, and in the course of a contested Election there is frequently occasion to apply for favours in that quarter. Of late years, those who are at the Head of the different departments of the State have been allowed the power belonging to their Stations, more absolutely and independently of the first Minister than was the Case in former times. Lord Suffolk, I am told, is very much on that footing, and is a man who would not choose to hold his office, if he did not feel himself of some consequence in it. There are strong reasons therefore for applying to him early on this subject, and for making him fully acquainted with the nature of The Duke of Hamilton's pretensions

to the principal weight in the County of Clidsdale. It may possibly induce his Lordship to take an active part, and to state and support these pretensions in some quarters which may be very essential.

On the other hand, if the application to Lord Suffolk were neglected on this occasion, he might have great reason to think that the proper attention had not been paid to him, and there might be reason hereafter to regrete the neglect of it.

In all events Lord Suffolk must be pleased with a Letter from your Grace on this subject. The hint was given me by a person who sincerely wishes success to the request, and who knows that similar requests have already been made to Lord Suffolk in Scots affairs as belonging to his department.

The only reluctance I have at making this suggestion to Your Grace is that it must give you the trouble of writing a pretty long letter to Lord Suffolk, for being the first time of entering into correspondence with him about the Duke's political interest, it may be necessary to give him such a compleat view of the nature of the Duke's interest and pretensions in Clidsdale as may satisfy his Lordship at once that the Duke of Hamilton's family have the best title to the support of Government in that quarter; when he is thus convinced that he is upon good ground, it will probably induce him speedily to take an active and decided part.

To diminish your Grace's trouble in this matter as much as lies in my power, I have drawn up the substance of a Letter to be wrote to Lord Suffolk on this occasion, with a view that your Grace may adopt or reject such parts

of it as you think proper. That sketch of a Letter is inclosed. I wish it could have been shorter, but it seemed to me necessary in the first application to make him acquainted with the state of the County and the interest which the Duke of Hamilton's family have long enjoyed there, as this serves greatly to fortify the request now made, especially in opposition to those whose interest in the County has been very accidental.

If your Grace approves of this suggestion of writing to Lord Suffolk, be pleased to send the Letter under my cover. I shall take an opportunity of delivering it to Lord Suffolk, to whom I have the honour of being a little known, and I am very certain that he will take an early opportunity of returning an answer to Your Grace's Letter.

I shall be detained here yet a few weeks by business of considerable importance to some of my friends, particularly an affair in which my Brother's interest is essentially concerned. There is a very probable prospect of his being appointed to succeed Coll. Wedderburn as Commander in chief at Bombay. It has been under the consideration of the Directors of the India Company oftner than once, and some progress is made in it. From particular circumstances the affair is so situated that my Brother and his friends are of opinion that my remaining here till his appointment is fixed is of the greatest importance to his success; when I have an opportunity to see your Grace, I shall have the honour to explain how this happens and the unavoidable necessity of my remaining so long in London.

I am very anxious to be in Scotland to give

any assistance in my power either in the Duke's political concerns or any thing that may concern his interest. I shall certainly be in Scotland in the month of August, but it is not in my power to say whether it will be early or late in that month, only I can assure your Grace that my resolution is not to remain here one day longer than is absolutely necessary. I shall probably have occasion to write to your Grace oftner than once before my leaving this place, but hope there will be no occasion to give you the trouble of reading any more Letters of such a formidable length.

I beg leave to offer my respects and best wishes to The Duke of Argyle and all your Grace's family at Inveraray, and have the honour to be with great truth

Your Grace's most faithfull and
obedient humble Servant,
ANDREW STUART.

BERKLEY SQUARE,
30*th July*, 1773.

P.S.—The sketch of the Letter to Lord Suffolk (subject to any alteration your Grace may think proper) is under another cover.

The Duchess of Argyll to the Earl of Suffolk.

MY LORD,

Since my arrival in Scotland I have learnt that, in many parts of the country, the contests for political interest at the next General Election have already begun : the election which naturally engages my attention the most, is that for the County of Lanark, where my son the Duke of Hamilton has his place of residence,

& the bulk of his estate, which is by far the most considerable in the county.

I therefore wish to take an early opportunity of communicating to your Lordship the situation of matters in that County, & when they are explained I flatter myself that the request I am going to make will meet with your approval, & a favourable reception. The great extent of the Duke of Hamilton's property in the county of Lanark, the connections formed with his family, & the attachment to them from their residence & property in the county for such a length of time, have always secured to them the principal influence in the elections for that county. Their interest was known to be so decisive, that the member proposed by them generally carried it without a contest. From the time of the 1st British Parliament till the year 1750, the county was represented either by one of the Duke of Hamilton's family, or by a particular friend of theirs, Sir James Hamilton, who had the support of the Duke of Hamilton's family during several Parliaments.

Upon Sir James' death in 1750, Captain Stuart of Torrence represented the county. He was the candidate most agreeable to the Duke & was supported by his interest. The next representative was Mr. Weir. He was not the choice of the Duke, yet it was by his interest that Mr. Weir carried the election. The address of the late Earl of Hyndford had prevailed on his neighbour the Duke of Douglas to ask it as a particular favour of the Duke of Hamilton that he would choose Mr. Weir to represent the county, & he further required him to support that gentleman with all his interest. At that time, from particular circumstances, the Duke

of Douglas's requests to the Duke of Hamilton could not fail to succeed. The consequence that Mr. Weir represented the county for 1 Parliament & part of another. On Mr. Weir's death the address which had been so successful in his case, was again employed with the Duke of Douglas. His Grace, who had very little interest in the county himself, was prevailed upon to insist with me & with my son's guardians, that the Duke of Hamilton's interest should be given in favour of Mr. Campbell of Shawfield, even in preference to Lord Archibald Hamilton, the Duke's uncle, who was then intended to represent the county. The hazard of doing prejudice to my son's expectations from the Duke of Douglas, in case of refusal, made us comply, tho' unwillingly, with this request. Lord Archibald, from the same motive, declined the contest. Another competitor, unconnected with the Duke of Hamilton, arose, & Mr. Campbell was at that time sensible that he could not possibly have carried the county without the interest & support of my son's friends.

Mr. Campbell was in this manner continued member till the last general Elections in 1768, when 3 candidates appeared, Mr. Campbell, Mr. Ross Lockhart, & Mr. Andrew Stuart. The interest of the Duke of Hamilton was naturally given to Mr. Stuart, whose uncle before had represented the county, & as he was himself one of my son's guardians, & had many friends and relations in the county, he was the candidate whose success was earnestly wished for by the particular friends of my son's family. Mr. Stuart had been too late in declaring himself candidate, several of the voters were engaged before they knew of his intentions, & as his

time & thoughts were at that time much employed about other important business, he had it not in his power to give much personal attention to the contest. The other candidates had by these means considerable advantages, notwithstanding which Mr. Stuart drove his competitors to the necessity of uniting their interests in order to gain the victory over him. In the morning of the election it was decided by lot which of the 2 competitors, Mr. Campbell or Mr. Ross, should join the other. The fortunate lot was in favour of the latter, & their joint forces carried it against Mr. Stuart, which is the 1st instance since the time when Scotland sent representatives to the British Parliament of any member being returned from the county of Lanark without the support of the Duke of Hamilton's interest. I have thought it proper to give your Lordship this detail, that you may be fully informed of the state of the county, & of the nature of my son's pretentions there; when application for the support & favour of government is made to His Majesty's ministers, in the distinguished situation your Lordship enjoys, it seems to me a duty on those who make the application to state completely all the circumstances.

The Duke of Hamilton & his friends are certainly resolved to exert themselves for continuing & preserving his interest in the county of Lanark, & we flatter ourselves that at the next general election, the county will be represented by the candidate most agreeable to my son's family; every effort will be made on our part to promote his success. I am informed that attempts will be made from other parts of the county in opposition to my son's interest,

but I cannot allow myself to think either that these attempts will succeed, or that they will meet with countenance or support from any of His Majesty's Ministers.

To your Lordship I apply, not only as Secretary of State for that Department which includes the whole of Scotland, but as Earl of Suffolk, who will naturally sympathise with an ancient & illustrious family contending in support of their own right & consequence.

The only period during which my son's political interest in the county of Lanark or elsewhere runs any risque of suffering, is during the few years that remain of his minority; this makes it more peculiarly a duty on me to attend to his interest in that interval. The time is now not far distant when he will be of an age to act for himself, & from what I know of his disposition, he will not be unmindfull of the favours bestowed on him & his family on this material occasion.

Having explained so fully the situation which gives rise to my request, I have only to add that it will be a very essential obligation to me, to my son & to his friends, if your Lordship will give us reason to hope that, in the election for the county of Lanark, your favour & influence will be given to the candidate proposed on the part of the Duke of Hamilton.

I have the honour to be, &c.

ELIZABETH DUCHESS OF HAMILTON
& BRANDON.

INVERARAY, *August*, 1773.

NOTE.—A letter showing the remarkable manner in which the old Scots families had maintained their political power.

ELIZABETH, DUCHESS OF HAMILTON

After Reynolds

p. 164]

Mrs. Burgoyne to the Duchess of Argyll.

KENSINGTON PALACE,
August the 16*th*, 1773.

MY DEAR DUTCHESS,

I am much obliged to you for yr. acquiescence, and am set down with no other motive than to thank you for it, as I cannot even *flatter* myself that anything I have to say can interest you sufficiently to give you one moment's amusement; if it could I should not think my Labour too great, and yet I would have you to know there are few things I hate equal to writing. I can talk to you by the hour, but writing is quite another thing: I *dare* not put in black and white many things I cou'd say. But indeed there is not the smallest entertainment to be found even in our Neighbourhood; what parties there are we have kept entirely from, and you know how little people are inclined to like those who can't, or won't, be accommodating. For this month past the Town has talk'd of nothing but the fray at Vauxhall, which I suppose you must have read an account of in the morning post; therefore all I need add, is that I believe the whole is very exactly the truth. We live here (I mean the female part of the family) as retired as if we were at a Country place 40 or 50 miles from London, and except one day last week I have not seen a card in my House these 2 months or more. L^y^ Powis return'd about a week ago from Brighthelmstone, and has been quite a treasure to L^y^ Hertford, whom I believe has never been one night without a party the whole Summer. It was with L^y^ P. I play'd at Loo here the other night, Mrs. L., L^y^ Hertford, and

Sir J. Harley. L^y^. H. was sent for to Kew that day, it being the P. of Wales's birthday.

I shall not give you my sentiments about *anything* or *anybody* at 500 miles distance; therefore, my Dear Dutchess, you must excuse me. I hope I shall hear that the violent hot weather attended with dreadful thunder and lightening, which we had here last week, has not affected either your health or spirits, nor those belonging to you. It almost overcame me. We are now got into the other extreme; it blows and rains like the depth of winter, and it is far from warm.

Our Gardens have not for these two months past been *the fashion*, and you know everything goes by fashion. I daresay there are many loving pairs come to them, but they are too wise to come within reach of my windows, and I never go into the Gardens after dinner; and tho' I spend my whole mornings in them, it is chiefly in the Shady part higher up than anything ever comes from London, except those Gentlemen that I told you of, and one of them have favour'd us again with their Company once this Summer. I say it is a tax upon me for living in this apartment, for it has just happen'd *once* every Summer since the first, when I was unable to go about without the assistance of my Servants, consequently they cou'd not make their appearance without hazard to themselves. Mrs. L., I ought to have told you sooner, has been rob'd. I am not to suppose you have heard it, therefore I must go on to say that she was stop'd by two highwaymen between one and two in the morning, about Kensington Gore, coming from L^y^ H—ds: one of them stood by the footman, and the other, after having drawn his pistol out to the coachman to stop, put it

up again, and then asked Mrs. L. for her purse, which she gave them (the one she has had so long ready for them). He then asked for her watch, which she likewise gave; then for her pocket-book, which she took out and gave, and He held it in his hand feeling what was in it, and asked her if there were any bank bills. She answer'd No. What then is there in it? said He. Bills with receipts to them and Mem^ms (but she was too much frighten'd to ask him to return it her). Well, says he, I will leave this at the Turnpike for you to-morrow morning, and off they went. She sent, however, the next Evening, but nothing was left. She was so excessively frighten'd that she has never dared come back again at night, and has had a Bed constantly at L^y Spencer's, and so only come here against breakfast and spent the day here, and gone again to Town by eight o'clock. She has now quitted us entirely and gone to Park place for two days and so on to Blenheim. L^y Pem: you will have seen in the papers is brought to bed of a Daughter. I think the sponcors will surprise you: The Queen and the Dss. of Marlbro', *Prince Ferdinand*, and the *Prince of Conti.*

I can't imagine how I have contrived to scribble over a whole sheet of paper. I am ashamed of myself, because it must be meer nonsense.

All kinds of good wishes attend you and yours from hence, and believe me ever, my Dr. Dutchess,

Yours &c. &c.

C: B.

The Earl of Suffolk to the Duchess of Argyll.

St. James's,
August 20th, 1773.

Madam,

I feel too much honoured by your Grace's Letter not to take the earliest opportunity of answering it; and too much disposed to wish well to the Duke of Hamilton's Interest in the County of Lanerk to take any Measures against it. But, as a public man, perhaps your Grace will allow me to observe, that in cases of this kind, where Familys of the greatest consideration, and equaly well-inclined to Government, are Opposers to each other, there are certain attentions to be preserved which preclude an active and declared Support on either side. Indeed I do not know how I cou'd be of any service, except on the contingency of the Sheriff's Death; in which case I look upon myself as engaged to accept your Grace's Recommendation of a Successor.

I have the Honour to be, Madam, with the greatest respect, Your Grace's most obedient & most humble Servant,

Suffolk.

Duchess of Argyle.

Mr. Andrew Stuart to the Duchess of Argyll.

My Lady Duchess,

Two days agoe Your Grace's Letter to Lord Suffolk was delivered, and this day by particular appointment I had a pretty long conference with his Lordship on the subject. I told him that your Grace had desired me to make your apology for the length of the Letter,

but I soon perceived that there was no occasion for any apology, for he seemed to be very much pleased with your Grace's application, and the manner in which it had been made; nothing indeed could be more polite and obliging than the reception he gave to it. He exprest an earnest desire to do in it what might be agreeable to Your Grace, and had no difficulty, as a private man, to say to what side his wishes inclined; but in his publick capacity he could not as yet come under any general or absolute engagement, as Administration for the most part does not choose to take an active and decided part in the contentions between Great familys in Countys; he recollected the engagement about the Sherriffship of the County, and said that whenever it becomes vacant that engagement to Your Grace will immediately be fulfilled. He told me he would soon take an opportunity of returning an answer to the Letter You had favoured him with.

Last Sunday I dined at Lord North's at Bushy park, and past several hours there. I had an opportunity of a full conversation about the situation of the County of Lanark, and had occasion to perceive that his Lordship had not as yet been applied to by the other Party, nor do I think it at all likely that he will give his support to any party in opposition to your wishes; but it can hardly be expected that, at such a distance from the General Election, The Minister would engage his interest to the prejudice of the Sitting Member, and give an absolute promise to support the Duke of Hamilton's interest in opposition both to the Sitting Member and to every other interest that might appear. Lord North was cautious to give any

general promise, but desired me, at the same time that I made his apology for not writing on this subject, to assure your Grace that he had always studied to pay every attention in his power to your requests, adding that within these few months he had complied with several applications made by Sir Ja^s^ Cockburn in your name for supporting your interest at Linlithgow; in fact he has lately granted a very material favour there, to one of the Duke's friends, Provost Dundass, who has got a place worth about £120 a year, tho' applications were made from other quarters for the same Office.

I told his Lordship that your Grace was very sensible of these favours and attentions on his part, and hoped to be further indebted to him before the general Election for his countenance and protection to your Son's interest during his minority. He asked me in what respects administration could be of use in the County of Clidsdale. I said that I could not name any particular object that was in view at present, but that opportunities frequently occurred in the course of disputed Elections. I mentioned in particular that, if there should happen a vacancy of the Sherriffship, the supplying that vacancy by the person most agreeable to you might be of great consequence, and put his Lordship in mind of what had passed last year on that subject between his Lordship, Your Grace, and Lord Suffolk. He authorised me to say that you may rest assured of the Sherriffship being given to the person you incline whenever the vacancy happens. He did not go any further length as to promises at this meeting, but on the whole I am very well satisfied from what past in the course of these

interviews with Lord North and Lord Suffolk, that neither of their Lordships will give their support to any interest in opposition to The Duke of Hamilton's. This of itself is a considerable point gained, and their engagement with regard to the Sherriffship may be considered as a good symptom of their readiness to oblige your Grace. When the General Election draws nearer possibly other marks of favour may be obtained.

I mean to Set out for Scotland on Monday, on purpose to give my assistance in what relates to the Duke's affairs in general, and particularly his political interest. As soon as it is in my power, I will have the honour to pay my respects to Your Grace and The Duke of Argyle at Inveraray.

It gives me great concern to hear that Lady Augusta has not been well, but from what your Grace mentions am in great hopes that her health is now re-established.

About a fortnight agoe I was made very miserable by an idle report spread over London that The Duke of Hamilton had been taken dangerously ill at Geneva. I run to every quarter where there was any chance of information, at last traced the Report to its source and found that it was totally void of foundation. Since that time I have had the satisfaction to receive certain intelligence from Geneva of the Duke's being in perfect health. Least Your Grace should have heard of this idle report raised either ignorantly or maliciously, I thought it proper to mention the certainty I now have of its being entirely false.

My Brother desires to return his best thanks to Your Grace for your good wishes in his affair,

which is not yet decided, and joins in presenting his respects to The Duke of Argyle and all your Grace's family.

I have the honour to be with great truth
Your Grace's most faithfull and
obed^t humble Servt
AND^W STUART.

LONDON, 20 *Aug^t*, 1773.

The Duchess of Northumberland to the Duchess of Argyll.

ALNWICK CASTLE, *Aug* 31st,
6 *o'Clock in morning.*

DEAR MADAM,

By your Grace's Letter being directed to London, I did not receive till past Twelve o'Clock last Night. I should be very happy if it was possible for me to oblige your Grace, by taking your waiting; but I am sorry to say it is not in my power, to do it, as I shall be detain'd here by absolute Business, till after that Time: added to which, I have been lately ill, & dare not so soon after, venture on so long a Journey, as I much doubt if I did, whither when I got to Town, I should be able to wait. I am heartily mortify'd not to be able to accommodate your Grace. I am to take Lady Effingham's fortnight, & if it will be of any convenience to you, will endeavour to get to Town Time enough to wait on Thursday ye 17th; this will be the first moment, that it will be in my power to be usefull to your Grace, which I am much concern'd at, as it would give me great pleasure were it otherwise,

I am, Dear Madam, Your Grace's most
Obed^t Humble Servt
ELIZABETH NORTHUMBERLAND.

Mr. Andrew Stuart to the Duchess of Argyll.

My Lady Duchess,

Last week I arrived here from London and have been much occupied about Clidsdale matters since my arrival. The great object at present is to establish upon the Duke's Superiorities as many Votes as possible before the Michaelmass Meeting, which is on 5 Oct'r, that these Votes may be ready to be enrolled against Michaelmass next year. With this view, I have been examining the Duke's title Deeds and various papers necessary to be consulted in the establishment of the Votes. These matters are forthwith to be carried into execution, which with the preparations for the enrolments that are to take place at this Michaelmas in consequence of Votes made last year, will give us sufficient occupation till the beginning of Oct'r.

Of the enrolments that are to take place this Year, Your Grace will observe that We have a large proportion of that first Cargoe, and We must endeavour to get the meeting well attended to prevent any game being played for keeping them off the Roll.

I am to meet Baron Mure at Hamilton this week by appointment for attending to all these matters, and We mean to make a considerable stay there for carrying our plans into execution as far as possible. I am afraid this will prevent my having the honour to wait upon Your Grace and the Duke of Argyle at Inveraray untill the Michaelmass meeting is over, tho' I am extremely desirous on many accounts to be at Inveraray as soon as possible. The idle paragraph in the Newspapers about The Duke of

Hamilton's declining State of health I hope has not given your Grace any uneasiness. It is the continuation of the same false report which had taken its rise before my leaving London, and which I then traced to its source, and discovered the falsehood of it; but to confirm me further in this opinion, I dined the day before leaving London with two persons recently arrived from Geneva, who had seen the Duke there frequently, and assured me that he was in perfect health and Spirits; their expression was that they had not seen any Young Man who had more the appearance of good health. They further gave me such good accounts of the esteem in which he is held by all Classes of people at Geneva, and of his Studys and conduct, as must be very agreeable to your Grace to hear.

I hope Lady Augusta is now perfectly recovered, and beg leave to present my respects to His Grace and to all Your Grace's family at Inveraray.

I have the honour to be with great truth
Your Grace's most faithfull and
obed't humble Servant,
AND^W STUART.

ST. ANN'S YEARD,
8 *Septr.* 1773.

Mrs. Burgoyne to the Duchess of Argyll.

KENSINGTON PALACE, *Oct^ber y* 7th, 1773.

MY DEAR DUTCHESS,

When you thought it necessary to make an apology for not answering my Letter sooner what can I say in excuse for myself, who have been double the time silent? I can only say that want of materials to make a Letter worth

reading has been in some degree the cause, & rather than study to excuse my *Idleness* I believe it will be best to proceed to tell you I think myself much obliged to you for giving me the pleasure of hearing you were all well; in that *all* I hope was comprehended your amiable Son abroad. I hope it won't now be long before you turn your thoughts Southwards. If the Duke was as well that way inclined as you are, I should flatter myself with meeting you in London by the first week in next month: pray tell him I shall want him extremely at my Loo parties, & I hope he will have had enough of the Country by that time. I can't say I envy your stile of living. I would not be a *great* Lady in the Country for all the world; retirement in Summer is the great charm to me of a Country Life; dress & ceremony I would always leave in London, & *there* we have more of it than is agreeable to me.

I heard of you from Mr Stanley, & was very sorry to find L^y^ Augusta had been ill. Col: Mawhood is very well bred & agreeable, & a useful man amongst the Ladies, but I think you would be surpriz'd as well as I should if you ever saw him Master of Lady Powis's house. Report has made that a match; but I daresay it had its rise from nothing more than his going 3 or 4 days a week to make up her parties. I am afraid it is too true that Miss P. lost in one night £500 & the next £1500, & paid it all the next day. I am almost afraid to tell you what I hear at so many hundred miles distance, lest my Letter should be lost, but they say She (Miss P.) borrows the money of her Sister Mary, having lost every thing of her own except *Terra ferma.* If so how shocking

must be her Situation. I agree with you, She will one time or other put an End to herself.

I can give you no account of the proceedings of the Conway family. Now I am no longer useful, I see L^y H. about once in 5 or 6 weeks, just so as to keep up a civility; the visit does not consist of above 15 minutes, and during that time I learn nothing that is going on, but my own opinion is that Lord L. never had nor ever will have serious thoughts of L^y F. The young Ladies must for this winter look upon the D. of Devonshire as a lost man, for he has taken Charlotte Spencer (a Lady I presume you know by sight) into keeping selon toutes les formes. I hear She says She has received the *most passionate* Letters from him that ever She read in her Life. He is now at Chatsworth, & it was once reported She was going down to him, but that is not true.

I have really defer'd writing a few posts till Col: Phillipson came to Town that I might be able to assertain the truth of the above Story, & come likewise at the knowledge of the Duke of Kingston's will, for as Mr Burgoyne has been in the North near a month, & *we* never go to London, it is difficult to come at any news that may be depended upon, & I hate to write a parcel of Lies. After hearing various Storys I believe the following may be depended on. All his Estate he has left the Dutchess for her Life, & personalty for ever; after her decease to the Meadows's, excluding the eldest son, whose conduct had disobliged him, & therefore he only left him a Legacy of £500. If the two younger Meadows's die without issue it goes to Lord

ELIZABETH, DUCHESS OF HAMILTON AND ARGYLL

After Cotes

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Thos Clinton. There was £1200 p^{r} An. settled upon Mr Brand which he cou'd not hinder him of, & the same Sum to M^{r} W: Mountague (L^{y} Bute's Bro^{r}). Some people say the words of the Will run thus: I leave to the Duchess of Kingston, alias Mrs Hervey, alias Miss Chudleigh; but I do not pretend to vouch the truth of it, but for curiosity I will get some friend to go & read the will, which anybody may do for a shilling. I hear She is going into Saxony to spend the remainder of her days with her *dear* Electress. I think She will judge very wisely, for those very few who took notice of her in the Duke's Lifetime will now desert her I make no doubt; abroad her money will get her friends, & she will make a noble figure at Dresden on £12,000 p^{r} An. which they say the Estate is.

By the By we hear strange accounts of your Ladies in Scotland; it is not one or two men that Satisfie them, even tho' they are married. If there is any truth in the Story you will know who I mean without mentioning names. I hear the D. of Dorset pass'd thro' Preston in his way to Scotland, I fancy *I smell a rat.* My love to L^{y} Betty. I don't apprehend the Queen has been ill, at least as fame would make one believe; She has miss'd her Drawing Rooms sometimes, & I fancy by what I hear she is with Child again, but it is certain she looks very well, for Miss Stanley was at Court on the 22^{d} of last month, & said she never saw her look better or more in health than she appear'd to be. It can be no news to tell you Miss Keck is to be married to Lord Hereford, & that there is great joy in the Carlisle family on the birth of a Son. I

must enquire of you if L^y Gower is brought to bed, I wish she may have a Son.

Adieu, Dear Dutchess, indulge me with the pleasure of hearing from you soon, & believe me very Sincerely your Affec^te Servt,

C: BURGOYNE.

Miss Stanley joins in comp^s with me to you & yours.

Mr. Andrew Stuart to the Duchess of Argyll.

MY LADY DUCHESS,

On Wednesday night I had the honour to acquaint Your Grace of the happy result of the Head Court at Lanark, which will be attended with very good consequences.

Yesterday my friend Mr. Craufurd came to town from his Canvass in Renfrewshire, and has acquainted me of what past at an interview he had some time agoe with Mr Campbell of Shawfield,* relative to the political matters in Clidsdale, at which interview, without any previous consultation with Your Grace or with me, Mr Craufurd, from the best intentions, had made certain proposals of arrangement to Mr Campbell.

Had I been consulted before such proposals were made (which I declare upon honour I never was, nor had I any knowledge or suspicion that they had been made, till learning it yesterday from Mr Craufurd), I certainly should have remonstrated against it with all my might, and I could not help telling my friend yesterday,

* Great-grandfather of the Countess Granville, wife of statesman in Lord Palmerston's and Mr. Gladstone's administrations.

that I should have been miserable, if any such treaty had been made between Mr Campbell and him as taking burden for me. Happily it has ended in nothing, but least any such plan should be again brought on the Carpet, I must here beg leave to submit to Your Grace's consideration my reasons against it.

In the first place, if it had been proper to have any Treaty at all with Mr Campbell relative to the depending Elections, the basis of such Treaty should have been, that the County was to be secured to the Duke of Hamilton, by Mr Campbell's joining his forces to the Duke's there, in return for which Mr Campbell might have had the Duke's interest in the Burroughs; but instead of this, the proposal it seems was, that the County for the next Parliament was to be given up to Mr Campbell, and in return for this, that he was to be at the expence of bringing me in for the Burroughs, where the Duke has already the presiding Burrough.

This plan would have been highly disadvantageous and unsuitable either for The Duke of Hamilton or for me. The great object for The Duke's family is to secure and increase his interest in the County. The plan proposed would not only have been a Declaration to all the world of his weakness in the County, but must have been highly prejudicial to his interest, by disobliging many freeholders at present well disposed, and by giving Mr Campbell, as Sitting Member, an opportunity of increasing his interest and connections there, to the prejudice or diminution of the weight and influence which the Duke's family might otherways have had; a County given away for 7 years is not easily recovered.

Upon The Duke of Hamilton's account therefor, I would have objected strenuously against any such proposal, if intimation had been given to me either of any interview intended with Shawfield on these matters, or of what was likely to pass at such interview.

In the next place, with regard to myself, no consideration could have induced me ever to propose or agree to a compromise of this nature. It is not from a notion of any essential difference between having a Seat in Parliament from a County or from Boroughs that I should have been so averse to this measure, but I have neither genius nor constitution for contested Borough elections; on the contrary, have a decided aversion to such Contests, for I neither understood how to make love to Boroughs, nor have I any disposition for the variety of attentions and other means requisite for gaining their favour. Of this I gave the strongest proof at the last Election of a Representative for these same Boroughs, for before Sir James Cockburn was thought of, The offer was made to me, which I instantly declined for the reasons now mentioned. On other accounts, too, it would have been improper in me to have resorted to the Boroughs, as several Gentlemen who had purchased qualifications in the County on purpose to support me, and others whose wishes were warmly interested in my success there, would with reason have taken it amiss to be thus deserted or disposed of.

An additional reason against any treaty with Mr Campbell on the subject of the County and Boroughs arises from this, that it is not either in Mr Campbell's power to ensure to the Duke success in these Boroughs, nor in the Duke's

to secure that success to Mr Campbell, for tho' the Duke has the returning Borough, yet neither He nor Mr Campbell have any footing in any of the other Boroughs, and it is more than probable that some Candidate would have started for these, who might have made it either impracticable or exceedingly troublesome and expensive to have carried the Election.

I shall only beg leave to add one other reason against this Treaty with Mr Campbell, which I own would have had very great weight with me, and I am persuaded Your Grace will be of the same sentiments when it is stated and explained. Your Grace knows that the President has a certain number of friends in the County particularly and personally attached to himself, independant of Captain Ross Lockhart and his connections. Soon after my arrival here I was very well informed, that whatever truth there might be in the Reports of a coalition of interests between Captain Ross Lockhart, Mr Campbell of Shawfield, and Mr Douglas, yet the President and his friends never had acceded to nor were concerned in any such coalition, nay that they had not even been consulted in it, nor were they persons of so little spirit as to be likely to suffer themselves to be transferred at pleasure by any person taking burden for them without their own consent. This I can venture to say from better authority than mere conjecture. Knowing these things, the plan I have all along had in view and my wishes too have been, that if endeavours were to be made for a junction of interests in any quarter, the most eligible and desireable in every respect was that with the President and his friends. Besides various other circumstances to determine

this preference, They were well entitled to it from this consideration: that they had stood clear of the coalition for depressing the Duke of Hamilton's interest, and for opposing me. In this situation to have concluded a Treaty with one of the Partys who was embarked with Mr Douglas agt The Duke's interest, or even to have made proposals for such a Treaty, without first communicating with the President and his friends, and trying every method of settling matters to his satisfaction, would in my opinion have been very unkind and unnatural as well as ill judged. A Step of this kind giving the preference to those to whom The Duke of Hamilton's family were under no obligations, and tending to render the President's interest of no consequence in the County, would have been such a return as He had not merited either from his conduct in this present contest or upon any other occasion.

As I know the just opinion and sincere esteem which Your Grace has for the President and his conduct, it is needless for me to say any thing further for enforcing the above argument; I shall only add as to myself that it would have made me very unhappy to have had even the appearance of being concerned in any plan or measure that could be deemed improper with regard to the President and his particular connections. I have lived in great habits of intimacy and friendship both with Lord President and his Brother Mr Sollicitor Dundass, and have always declared the sincere regard and esteem I have for them. It would therefor have been doubly culpable in me to have been concerned in any transaction of which they could have had just reason to complain.

Having stated the various reasons which so strongly decide my opinion in this matter, and which would certainly have made me oppose and prevent the conference between Mr Craufurd and Mr Campbell had I been at all apprised of it, I hope it will appear to Your Grace, that they are not founded on slight grounds; and that the same reasons still subsist against any similar Treaty for the future in the course of this contest.

Since I have not spared my friend Mr Craufurd's Treaty either in conversation with himself, or in this Letter to your Grace, it is incumbent on me now to say a few words in his defence.

He was unacquainted with the State of the County, and the history of Parties and their Connections there. The prevailing Reports had made him believe, not only that a coalition had taken place between Mr Douglas, Captain Ross Lockhart, and Mr Campbell, but that the two first had agreed to transfer their interest and their friends to Mr Campbell, and that in consequence thereof The Duke of Hamilton would certainly be beat in the County. In this situation, he naturally thought that it would be doing a service both to The Duke of Hamilton and to me, to make such an arrangement as between the County and Boroughs might secure a Seat for me in Parliament, and without any expence, for one article in this Treaty was that Mr Campbell was to be at the whole expence of making good the Seat from the Boroughs whatever Sum that might amount to. Not doubting of the truth of the Reports he had heard, he thought that the arrangement proposed by him would meet with your Grace's approbation and my concurrence as turning

this contest to the best account which the situation could admit of.

As the whole of his conduct proceeded from the best and most friendly intentions, I must think myself obliged to him, for the motives which made him, who is so unwilling to take trouble even in his own business, proceed with so much activity and even rapidity in this; but as I have stated to him how miserable I should have been if his scheme had taken place, and my reasons for dissenting from every part of it, He now agrees with me in considering it as a very fortunate event that no agreement took place upon the plan he had proposed, and I am happy to find, that he had not only assured Shawfield upon his honour that the proposal was made without my knowledge or concurrence directly or indirectly, but had made it perfectly understood to him, that unless he instantly accepted of the proposal, He, Mr Craufurd, as taking burden for me was to remain no longer bound.

If the unfortunate State of my health had not prevented any conference or correspondence between Mr Craufurd and me on these subjects since my arrival in Scotland, I would have given him such a view of the real State of the County, that he would have been the last person in the world to have proposed such disadvantageous terms. Your Grace knows that I am not apt to be oversanguine in these matters, and yet so far as I am able to discern, from the book of numbers and the Chapter of connections, my real opinion is that, supposing the Coalition between Mr Douglas, Captain Ross Lockhart, and Mr Campbell of Shawfield to take place, We shall be able to beat their united forces; for besides the proportion We have of the 68

Freeholders upon the old Roll, which was the Sum total of that Roll before last Tuesday, We have 14 certain votes of the 18 admitted last Tuesday, and as to 3 of the remaining 4 have full as good a chance as the other Party; but our views have not been confined to the last Michaelmass Meeting, for the Titles are already established of more than 20 additional friends who will be enrolled at Mich^s 1774. I know that the other Party will also have a considerable number of additional votes to be enrolled at that time, but not in the same proportion. Then as to the Votes to be made from this day forward, with a view to their being received on the day of Election, the Duke of Hamilton has such a great extent of Superiorities still remaining with him, upon which no freeholds have as yet been established, that if the matter is properly attended to, I think it will be in his power to make such a number of additional Votes as will ensure success.

I am sensible, however, that it is best not to be over secure in these matters, nor to avoid any proper compromise or junction of interests, provided the basis of such compromise be, that the Duke is to have the naming of the Representative for the County. This I had frequently turned in my mind, and had taken some steps towards it before Mr Craufurd's arrival here, and before I knew or suspected what had past between him and Mr Campbell. In a few days I shall know whether there is room to expect that such compromise can take place, and will have the honour to acquaint Your Grace of the plan that has occurred to me, tho' I wish there were some other opportunity of conveying it than by a post Letter. In the

mean time, I am very confident that it is such an arrangement as will appear to Your Grace highly preferable in every respect to that which was proposed with Mr Campbell, and the tendency of it will be to secure to the Duke the County, without which, in my opinion, no treaty or compromise should be made in any quarter whatever.

The length of this Letter would require many apologys if the subject were not so interesting. I trust that Your Grace will on that account excuse it, and believe me to be with great truth

Your Grace's most faithfull and
obedt humble Servant,
AndW Stuart.

St. Ann's Yeards,
9 *Octr*, 1773.

P.S.—I beg leave to present my best respects to The Duke of Argyle and all your Grace's family.

Baron Mure to the Duchess of Argyll.

Madam,

I am just returned from Edinburgh, where I had gone at Andrew Stuart's desire, to assist at a Treaty of which he had given your Grace a Hint. 'Tis not yet come to any Conclusion, but as the Delays proceed from no disinclination nor any other disagreeable Cause, they bid fair soon to be removed. Andrew will inform your Grace when any Thing material occurs. I left him after concerting every Step that should be taken. We

agreed entirely in Opinion upon this Negotiation, tho' we differed somewhat with regard to the former, in which J. Crawford was concerned. I saw a Copy of Andrew's long Letter of Remonstrance to your Grace, yet was not convinced, which surprised him greatly. However we ended the Dispute, by my acknowledging that this new Compromise, which is more likely to take Place than the other, is in every Respect preferable to it: but I offered to fight over again the Argument, in Support of the first, before your Grace, if you would accept of being the Umpire between us. It is now quite out of Doors, so its Merits can be no more than a Subject of Conversation.

'Tis in vain to look back; but it appears evident, that had we been as active as we might have been, I mean no more than had Andrew been present, and J. Davison attentive and diligent, we might at this Day have set all the Confederates at Defiance, in Place of being under any Necessity to negotiate with them separately. I know that in the Eyes of the Public we have done a great Deal, and so we really have; but I can't be satisfied, when I'm sensible that more might have been done, and that that more would have been decisive. The Time indeed is not altogether lost. Andrew is to be west at Hamilton in ten days. I'll be there again to join him, and we shall be able to make another large Parcel of Votes, which will be ready against the Day of Election. If these had been made before last Michaelmas, so as to be ready against the next, they would have given us such a great superiority, as would have put an End to the Contest. Upon the whole, I can't see that your Grace has any

Reason to be uneasy with respect to the Event. We shall certainly carry our Cause, with or without a struggle. I own I feel more Anxiety to have it in the latter Method, than I should do in any other Case; merely from the Consideration of the strange vicissitudes and disappointments, to which Andrew's extraordinary Merit has hitherto been exposed.

I can't help expressing to your Grace my Regret, on finding I'm obliged to deny myself the Pleasure of waiting on you, and the Duke, at Inverary this Season. I had that agreeable Visit always in View, as a Solace after the Fatigue and Plague of our Political Operations, which I reckoned were to be at an End, with the Head Courts. But Andrew's being then prevented by the Gout, and now coming west, both to canvass the old, and to create new Freeholders, forces me to change my Measures. I must be at hand to him, and often with him, till the Exchequer meets: and the Interval of ten days till he arrives, is all the Time I have to bestow on my private Affairs, which of late have been little the Object of my Attention. I have the satisfaction to think, that I shall be the only Sufferer by this disappointment, and that it will be attended with no Loss, either to the Duke's political, or private Concerns. I should wish to know how long your Grace proposes to remain at Inverary, and should be glad if your stay there was to permit me, to pay you a Winter's Visit there, about the 10th of Decr. when the Exchequer Term ends. If not, I'll be happy to see your Grace at Edinburgh, where I hope you'll pass some days. I beg Leave to offer my best Respects, and best Wishes, to the Duke, the Ladies, and

Lord Lorne. I have the Honour to be with the most perfect Regard

Your Grace's most faithful and most devoted humble Servant,

WILL MURE.

CALDWELL, 21*st Oct.* 1773.

Lord Elphingston has made five votes in Clydesdale, and I hear was lately at Inverary. I hope your Grace applied him. If not I must beg you would write to him, and Lady Elphingston too; for the Votes are made on her Estate. A Declaration in your Grace's Favour from that Family, would be of great Importance.

Mr. Andrew Stuart to the Duchess of Argyll.

In consequence of the permission your Grace was pleas'd to give for my opening any Letters from The Duke or Mr Moore at this time, The two inclosed have been brought to and opened by me By this means I have got such intelligence of their motions as enables me more precisely to calculate the time of their being at Paris, and I think there is hardly any chance of their getting there before me tho' I set out the end of this week; for after leaving Florence, where they were to remain about 8 days after the 24th, there remained several places for them to see which would take up a considerable time, particularly Bologna, Milan, Turin, and perhaps Genoa. And if at any of these places the Duke shall happen to receive any Letter acquainting him that he is not to meet your Grace at Paris, he will probably not be in such a hurry in his route to that Capital. So that I reckon it may

probably be about the end of this month at soonest before they arrive at Paris.

However my intention is to set out on friday or Saturday first, and to go directly to Paris. It would be impossible for me to go sooner, as it is thought proper that before going out of the Country I should be at the King's Levee on Wednesday and at the Drawing room on thursday.

By the Duke's Letter I perceive that he has got some violent prejudices against the Gentlemen of the Law. I shall not attempt to plead their cause with him, but must observe to him that his apprehensions about the possible expence that may be incurred by pursuing to a final judgement in the House of Lords the question depending between him, Lord Selkirk, and Mr Douglas upon the interpretation of the family settlements of the Douglas Estate, are much too formidable. The expence of trying such a question as this, in which there are no proofs to be taken and which either in the course of next winter or the subsequent year must necessarly be finished both in the Court of Session and in the House of Lords, must be very limited and moderate. The Duke's apprehensions are therefore disproportioned to their object, when he supposes that this contest may be the means of distressing him in his circumstances, or that it is risking his all for the chance of more.

So little inclination has there been on the part of the Guardians to embark the Duke in any Law suits that could possibly admit of delay, that for these 7 years past they have always avoided taking any steps in the question, which was brought to the House of Lords last

winter by Lord Selkirk when it became unavoidable for the Duke's Guardians to appear for his interest, and to pray for a further delay untill the Duke should be of age to act for himself, otherwise his interest in that question would have been most essentially hurt and prejudged in an indirect manner.

The very thing objected to the Guardians by the opposite party and by some of the Peers was the reverse of what the Duke supposes, for the objection was that they had been too dilatory and remiss by their avoiding the trial of this question for so many years. On the other hand our answer was that We wish'd to delay untill the Duke came of age to judge for himself any further Law contests, and as he was so near being of age We contended for an indulgence till that time. The Judgement pronounced by the House of Lords some months agoe indulged us in a certain delay, but made it necessary that some steps should be taken on our part in the mean time to prepare for a final decision in the House of Lords either next winter or the winter thereafter, and one of these preliminary Steps gave rise to the paper which Mr Davidson sent to the Duke for signing.

I did suppose that Mr Davidson had at the same time explained to the Duke what had given rise to the necessity of that paper being signed, but from the nature of the Duke's Letter I presume that it has not been sufficiently explained. I wish Mr Davidson had been more full in his explanation to the Duke of the nature of the paper he desired him to sign, from which he would have perceived that it was both innocent and necessary; however I shall easily be able to explain this to the Duke at meeting.

I hope this will find Your Grace safe arrived at Inveraray, and with a great addition of good health and spirits from the journey.

I beg leave to offer Compliments and best wishes to the Duke of Argyll and Lady Augusta, and have the honour to be

Your Grace's most faithfull and
obed^t humble Servant,
AND^w STUART.

LONDON, 10 *June*, 1776.

Mr. Andrew Stuart to the Duchess of Argyll.

I have delayed writing to your Grace since my arrival here, in hopes that I might have it in my power to acquaint you of the Duke's arrival, & of his intentions as to returning home, or continuing his travels, but hitherto since coming here I have not been able to pick up any intelligence of the Duke's motions. Sir John Lambert, the Banker to whose house Mr. Moore had desired letters to be directed, has had no letters either from the Duke or from Mr. Moore, tho' I observe there are several letters directed to them lying at Sir John Lambert's house.

At Calais in my way here I met Mr. Falconer returning from Italy to London; he told me that he had recently left the Duke at Florence, where he was in great health & spirits, that he waited the arrival of Sir Harry Featherstone, & then was to visit Turin & several other places in his way to Paris, which place Mr. Falconer imagined the Duke would not reach sooner than the middle of July at soonest.

It was my own notion before leaving London

that the Duke could not be at Paris so soon as mentioned in some of Mr. Moore's letters, but as your Grace was anxious that I should reach this place rather before than after the Duke, I did not choose to run the risque of being too late.

If I were certain of finding the Duke, either at Geneva or any place in Italy, I would set out from this place immediately to join them, but in the present uncertainty there is so great a hazard of my missing him that I believe my best plan will be to wait patiently his arrival in this place. Even if I were now to join him in Italy, I fancy it would hardly be practical to prevail upon him so far to alter his destination as to proceed immediately to Vienna without first visiting Paris or some part of France, especially as amongst some of the letters waiting for him at Sir John Lambert's, I observe 2 which have the postmark of Ardres upon them, & which I presume are from the lady who we were told at London had left Switzerland & was come to the neighbourhood of Calais.

Since I am here I intend to make some enquiry about the Duchy of Chastelrault, to know whether the Duke of Hamilton's family can still have any pretentions to the title & honours of belonging to the French Duchy. I have already started the subject to Mr. Doutremont, who happens to be very knowing & able on these subjects, so much so that the Duke of Richmond, who is now here, had been particularly recommended to Mr. Doutremont to have his advice & assistance in some steps he is now about taking in France in relation to his peerage of Aubigny, in order to render it more complete & unquestionable. I met his Grace at Mr.

Doutremont's, where he was come to have a consultation with him about that business, & he expressed to me very strongly the satisfaction he had in Mr. Doutremont's acquaintance as one of the ablest & best sort of men he had met with.

Mr. Doutremont has desired me to write to Scotland about some facts relating to the Chastelrault Peerage, after which he will be better able to give me his opinion on this subject. I am by next post to write to Mr. Davidson, who by that time I suppose will be arrived in Scotland.

As there are no other Peers in Britain besides the Dukes of Richmond & Hamilton that can lay claim to honours of this kind in France, it is certainly an object worthy of attention, if without much trouble & expense we can get the Duke's right ascertained & revived. So soon as the Duke arrives here I shall have the honor of again writing to your Grace. I beg leave to offer compliments & best wishes to the Duke of Argyll & Lady Augusta, & have the honour to be at all times

Your Grace's most faithful &
obedient humble Servant,
ANDREW STUART.

PARIS, 1 *July*, 1776.

The Duchess of Argyll to Mr. James Ferrier.

BRIGHTHELMSTONE,
July 28*th*, 1778.

SIR,

I received yours of the 13th last night, with a Bill inclosed for two Hundred as I desired. We are to go to London to-morrow for a few

days, after that we will decide whether we are to return to this Place or set out for Edin^r^. The Duke is surprizingly better.

I am, Sir, your Most Humble Servant,

E. ARGYLL HAMILTON.

To MR. JAS. FERRIER,
Writer to the Signet,
Edinburgh.

Mr. W. Farquhar to the Duchess of Argyll.

I am very sorry that I am unable to give your Grace any satisfaction about the Fleets. Things remain in the same doubtful state. The express that arrived this day about 2 o'Clock left the combined Fleet 100 sail in all—about 60 line of battle ships, off and *in* Plymouth Sound. The wind so much against them that they could not get up the Channel, consequently would prevent our Forty ships from getting up even as far as Plymouth to fight them. The wind still remains contrary, so much has not been done. An Invasion is talked of, as it was before your Grace left Town, but the Fate of the Fleet will in all probability determine that. Now this is every thing I have been able to pick up except alarms, of which I might send a sheetfull, with Lies for every hour of the day.

This morning I sent to Carrs and found the horses and Coachman were to be employed immediately. I therefore desired they might be retained a week longer in the Duchess of Argyll's service. By that time we shall be able to judge, and I thought it right to have things ready at a minute's warning, to send away the sweet elegant children. I know how anxious

your Grace, Lady Derby, and Lady Augusta will be.

I have the honour to be with the most perfect respect, My Lady Duchess,

Your Grace's very much obliged &
most devoted H^le^ S^t^
WM. FARQUHAR.

I shall do myself the honour of writing often.

Mr. W. Farquhar to the Duchess of Argyll.

I have this moment received the inclosed from Mr. Robertson, which I have the honour to send your Grace as the best information I can get. A landing does not seem the object at present, but we expect to hear of an engagement every hour.

The Ardent, a 64-gun ship in her way to join the Fleet, they say is taken after fighting an amazing battle. If our Grand Fleet all do as much, we shall have good news. I shall be very attentive in writing, and shall obey your Grace's and Lady Derby's orders with regard to the sweet Babes.

With the most perfect respect I have the honour to be the Duchess of Argyll's

Very much obedient & most devoted
humble Servt
WM. FARQUHAR.

Friday night.

17th August.
5 o'clock morning.

MY DEAR FARQUHAR,

Early yesterday morning the united fleet of France and Spain made its appearance about six leagues off Plymouth.

We saw them in the same situation between four and five this morning. Their line extends a great way, and the number is reckoned 100 sail, seventy of which are said to be two-deckers, but, in such cases, fears magnify objects. They seem to have few if any in the transport way, so that a landing is not probably their intention; but, by their near approach, and to the spot where Sir Chas. Hardy had lately cruised for some time, they certainly mean to fight.

The Milford, a frigate come with dispatches, left our fleet on Saturday, and saw the enemy's early Sunday morning, so that in all probability they can't be far distant from each other.

8 o'clock in the morning.

The enemy's fleet has, suddenly, tacked about, and seem to be going from our coast. Perhaps, they may have got intelligence of our fleet. Wishing the Mons^rs^ & Dons a most hearty drubbing, I am, with my best wishes to you & yours,

Your friend

W. R.

Mr. W. Farquhar to the Duchess of Argyll.

I had the Honour of writing your Grace last night and directed the letter to Newcastle. I have nothing new to say to-night, only to contradict the report of yesterday with regard to the Ardent. She got through the combined Fleet and is safe in Plymouth harbour. An express arrived this afternoon which brought intelligence that the French and Spanish Fleets were still in sight but more to the westward, and that Sir Charles Hardy had not been heard of. Indeed it is impossible he should, as the

wind for a week past would not allow him to enter the Channel. It is generally believed D'Orvilliers means to fight our Fleet, and the moment the wind shifts it must happen. All dread of an Invasion seems now to be over, till the Fleets have decided who shall command the Channel. I will not allow myself to think we can be beat. On Monday, if nothing important turns up, I shall withdraw my order about the Horses at Carrs, as I shall always have time enough to make a proper arrangement.

I have the honour to be with the most perfect respect, My Lady Duchess,

Your Grace's very much obliged &
most devoted h^le^ S^t^
WM. FARQUHAR.

LONDON, *Saturday night,*
11 *o'clock.*

W. Jordyce to the Duchess of Argyll.

MADAM!

In obedience to your Grace's Commands & The Countesses I give you the trouble of this to acquaint Your Grace that L^y^ Eliz^th^ is as well as you or Her Mamma could wish, & that I will not fail to pay the proper attention to Her health every day y^t^ I am on the spot when it is thought I can be of any use. Last night an express arrivd at 10 o'clock at ye admiralty giving Information of ye Fleet of Bourbon, 60 ships of ye Line & 40 frigates, lyeing off plymouth, which, by the by, I find they cannot bombard—the North East wind that has blown ever since they came into the Channel, prevents them coming down farther or Sr C. Hardy's interupting their operations. We are told they may, if y^e^ wind continues at East, get over

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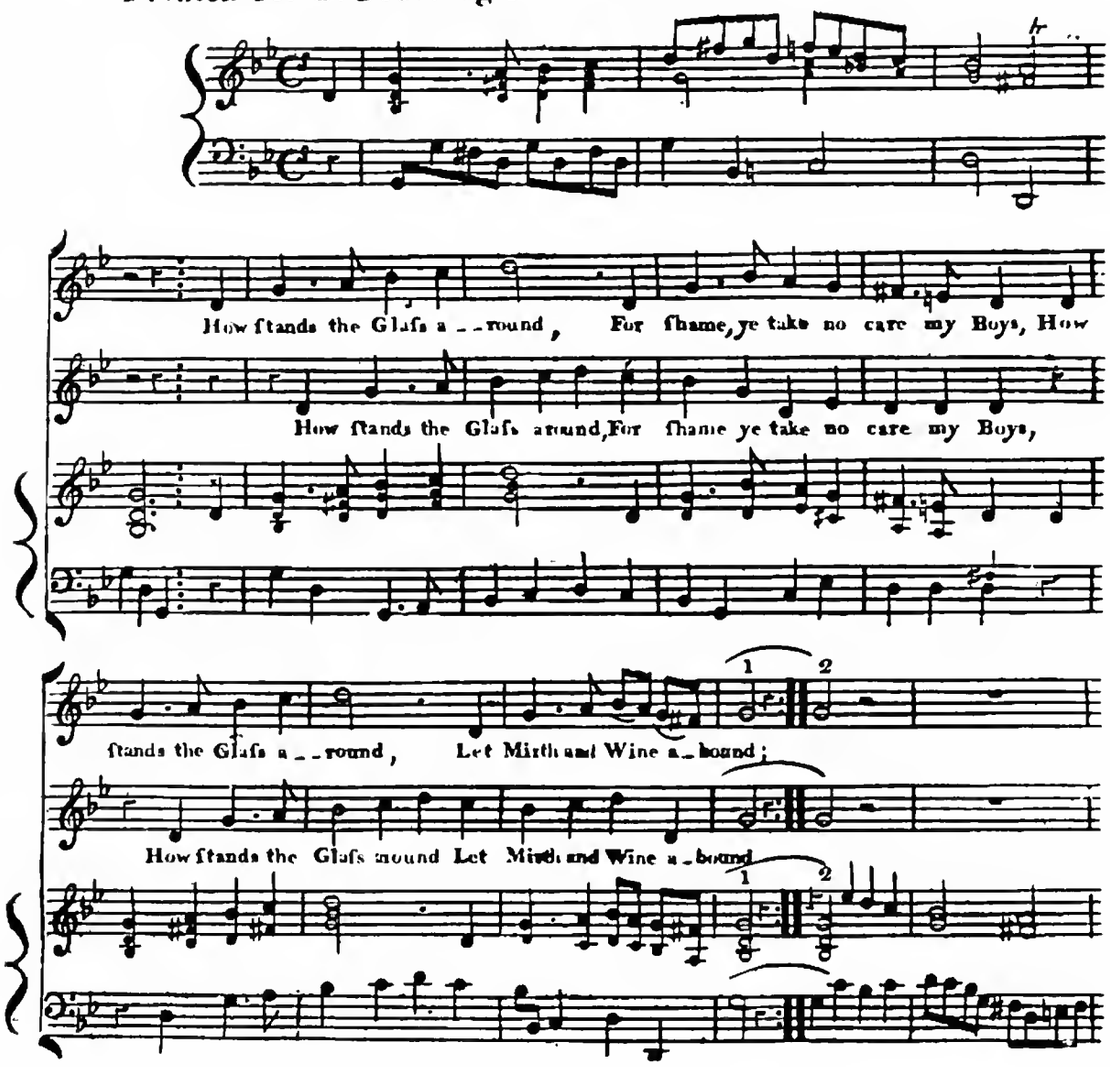

SONG : WORDS WRITTEN

The Trumpets sound, the Colours they are flying Boys to fight kill or wound, May

The Trumpets sound, the Colours they are flying Boys to fight kill or wound, May

we still be found, Content with our hard fate my Boys on the cold Ground.

we still be found, Content with our hard fate my Boys on the cold Ground.

2

Why Soldiers, why,
Should we be melancholly Boys,
Why Soldiers why,
Whose Bus'nefs 'tis to die,
What — Sighing, fie!
Damn Fear, drink on be Jolly, Boys,
'Tis He, You or I,
Cold hot wet or dry
We're always bound to follow Boys,
And scorn to fly.

3

'Tis but in vain,
I mean not to upbraid ye Boys,
'Tis but in vain,
For Soldiers to complain,
Should next Campaign,
Send us to him that made us Boys
We're free from pain,
But if we remain,
A Bottle and kind Landlady
Cure all again

For two German Flutes

BY GENERAL WOLFE

there troops from Havre, & as we have nothing to oppose them I understand that some of our sailors speak with confidence of ye Effects of our great ships but most people seem to think that it is a very serious business and anxious moment.

I remain with respect, Madam, your Grace's
obed^t & obligd Servt,
W^M JORDYCE.

WARWICK STREET, 19: *Aug*: 79.

(*Addressed*) To Her Grace
The Duchess of Argyll.

Alexander Scott to the Duchess of Argyll.

PLEAS Y^R GRACE,

The Account given yesterday at the Admiralty according to the most recent Advice at two o'Clock in the afternoon conforms viray well with Advices we ourselves have received from the Continant, which are that their plan is to attack the British Fleet first and if they can to give it a complete overthrow, then to land a numerous Body of Troops in England; but the Opinion of the Gentlemen at the Bank Still is as on Tewsday that they are distined for Ireland. His Majesty is to be at Kew all this week for the convenience of receiving dispatches. I waited till Eleven O'clock at night thinking something els might transpayer, and I went to St. Jeams, y^r Grace, and it is generaly Believd that their hath not been any long engagement as yet Betwixt the two Flets. The inclosed, y^r Grace, was Dliv^d from the Countess of Weymouth at Nine o'Clock this evinge.

I am with the humblest Submission
y^r Grace's Dutifull S^t
ALEXANDER SCOTT,

LONDON, *Aug^t* 19, 1779.

Alexander Scott to the Duchess of Argyll.

PLEASE Y^R GRACE,

On Wednesday Night an Express arrived at the Admiralty with an Account that the combined Fleets of France and Spain had blocked up Plymouth Harbour. They consist of upwards of one Hundred three-masted Ships and lie of Ramhead. This Force was not then ascertained. Another Account says that yesterday the 19th an Express arrived from Plymouth to the Admiralty with Advice that the united Fleets of France and Spain were then of the Ramhead and consisted of 90 sail. It was suposed they had been joind by some Transports from France. Expresses are sent of Every Hour to the Diferent Sea Port towns whear it is thought the Combined Fleets of France and Spain may attack us. Their hath been no Engagement Between our Flett and the French and Spanish flett, but Still the French and Spanish Flet Lay^th of Plymouth, and it is thought from the wind standing so long in the East that Sir Charles Hardy heath not bean able to Return to give them Battle. Ther heath ben no word from Down Place Since y^r Grace Left this. I Canot inform y^r Grace How Lord John and Lady Charlot is.

I am with the Humblest Submission
y^r Grace's Dutifull S^t
ALEX^R SCOTT.

LONDON, *Aug^t* 20, 1779.
Eleven o'clock night.

Mr. Andrew Stuart to the Duchess of Argyll.

My Lady Dutchess,

Ever since my arrival here I have been in hopes from day to day of having some news worthy to be transmitted to your Grace, but in that expectation have been so often deceived that I now sit down to write altho' there be no very material news to communicate.

I am just now come from the Drawing Room at St. James's, where I learnt that an officer had arrived this morning who brought Letters from Sir Charles Hardy dated the 29th and 30th. By the Letter of the first of these dates he had entered the Channel in his course towards Plymouth, and by the Letter of the 30th he was then so far advanced that there is no doubt of his being at Plymouth, before this time.

The question put by every body on learning this, and I think I hear the same question put at Inveraray: Where then was the combined Fleet? But to this I could get no satisfactory answer, only that it is said the combined fleet were to the Westward of Sir Chas. Hardy's—some say 20, others 30 leagues to the Westward. If so it must probably now depend on the combined fleets whether an action shall take place very soon. There is no doubt that our fleet is not to decline Action, but as the combined fleets are to the Westward, they may either proceed up the Channel, in which case an action will certainly soon take place, or they may retire to their own ports, or pursue some plan different from an invasion on England, and in that Case it may require some longer time for our fleet to get up with and force the Enemy's to an action.

It is very extraordinary that the two fleets have not met before now, for they certainly have been very near each other; and tho' there is every reason to presume that neither of them wish'd to decline the combat, yet it has so happened that if they had studied to avoid each other, the chances were against their accomplishing a plan of that kind, so compleatly as what has happened from their desire of meeting.

The general, or at least the prevailing wish here is, that the French and Spanish fleets may, on the supposition of our fleet retiring from them, proceed up the Channel towards Plymouth, and that there an action may take place. If so, there will be important news in a day or two, and your Grace may depend on having from me as large a collection of particulars as the desire of satisfying the anxiety and curiosity of those to whom it is to be presented can enable me to procure.

Before this reaches, I presume that Lady Derby is arrived at Inveraray, and will have acquainted your Grace that I had the honour to wait upon her at Lord Carlile's, where I past the greatest part of a day, and had the satisfaction of a full conversation with her Ladyship. As Solliciter Hamilton went to the Country soon after my arrival here, and is not yet returned, I have had but one meeting with him, at which I learnt that Mr. Turner, on whom Lord Derby relys much, was not yet arrived in town, tho' daily expected; he has, it seems, been in very bad health, otherwise would have been here before now.

Lord Derby, I hear, is in town, as also his friend the General; but I have had no visits or Messages from either as yet, and I do not think

there would be any utility in my calling on them at present, untill the first enquirys or advances are made on their part, or at least untill Mr. Turner arrives in town and that Mr. Hamilton or I learn what their intentions are, or in what Disposition they are at present, especially as no steps of any kind can be taken before the month of Nov^r^.

I shall be happy to hear of your Grace's safe arrival at Inveraray, and that all the favourable and very agreeable accounts of The Duke of Argyll's health were confirmed. I beg leave to present my best respects and best wishes to his Grace and to all your family at Inveraray, and have the honour to be with great truth

Your Grace's most faithfull and
obed^t^ humble Servant,
ANDREW STUART.

LONDON, 2 *Sept^r^*, 1779.

Mr. Andrew Stuart to the Duchess of Argyll.

MY DEAR DUCHESS,

This day has brought us news of very different complexions, agreeable and disagreeable. Of the first sort is the certain account received of the safe arrival of 8 of our East India Ships in Limerick River; this news is the more acceptable that for some time past there were the greatest apprehensions for the safety of these Ships, which being known to be of very great value it had become a great object both for the French and Spaniards to get possession of these India Men, and it was thought to be more than an equal chance that they would have fallen into the hands of the Ennemy, especially as our fleet

being now at Spithead could afford them no protection.

But to balance this fortunate occurrence We have lost in the West Indies the Island of Grenada, at least there is too much reason to presume that it is so from the accounts received this day by express from the Governer of Barbadoes. This has been accomplished by an expedition from Martinico under the command of Monsr D'Estaing.

The same accounts mention a fight at sea which had happened on the 4 of July between D'Estaing's fleet of 26 ships of the Line and Admiral Biren's of 21 Ships. The particulars are variously and confusedly related, but by all that I have been able to learn there is no reason to flatter ourselves that in that conflict We have gained any advantage. It is said that after the action, which continued many hours, D'Estaing's fleet returned to Grenada and ours to St. Lucia, but that one of our ships had been taken by the Ennemy.

These particulars I have related to your Grace exactly in the way I have just now learnt them, but if more acurate intelligence arrives before next post you may depend on my transmitting it.

The fleet for our home defence was at Spithead yesterday, and using the utmost efforts to supply themselves with the utmost expedition with water and provisions which they stood in need of, after which not a moment's time is to be lost in their putting to sea again with all their reinforcements in quest of the combined fleet. It is reckoned that to-morrow or next day they will leave Spithead, and proceed by St. Helens down the Channel as fast as the winds will permit them.

It has blown so hard this day that it would probably fare ill with the combined fleet, especially the Spaniard, if his large ships were exposed to this storm in the British Channel. Lord Sandwich and Admiral Mann went to Portsmouth last Saturday to expedite every thing necessary for our Fleet, and are not yet returned.

With Compliments and best respects to The Duke of Argyll and all your Grace's family, I have the honour to be

Your Grace's most faithfull &
obed^t humble Servant,
ANDREW STUART.

LONDON,
Tuesday, 7 *Sept^r*, 1779.

Mr. W. Farquhar to the Duchess of Argyll.

I had the Honour of your Grace's letter of the 31st of August, and from post to post I have delayed answering it in expectation of having some good news to send. I have been disappointed very much, as from every quarter of the world disagreeable tidings arrived. Our Fleet beat & Islands taken in the west, and our Army Burgoyned in the East. Add to all what has been most mortifying to John Bull—our grand Fleet drove in by the insolent French and proud Dons. This day, however, has produced some little change. What has not been brought about by hard blows, the disagreement amongst our enemies seems to promise.

It is said, and with certainty too, that the French and Spaniards have differed much, and

are at such variance that they will never go to sea together again. The Spanish Admiral blames D'Orvilliers for his inactivity and want of conduct. The last says he could not depend upon the Spanish Fleet; however, as the Dons must be pleased at Paris, it is confidently reported that D'Orvilliers is sent to Paris in arrest, and is succeeded in the Command by Du Chayant. The Spaniards they say are gone home sick of the business; the Admiral's ship, the *Holy Trinity* by name, with her masts shattered by Lightening, and many other ships damaged by the high winds in our Channel. It is thought they won't easily be brought again upon our Coasts. The Ardent, the ship taken from us, also had her masts shivered by the same storm. In a Roman Catholic country the Holy Trinity and the only prize suffering by storm will be looked upon as ominous.

In short, if all this is true, it is better than a battle, and we shall be able to do more than show ourselves upon the French Coast this season yet.

Lady Charlotte and Lord John are perfectly well in Town. They return to the Country on Friday. All fears of an invasion are over for this year.

I hope the keen Scotch air may be of use to your Grace. I am quite pleased to hear the Duke of Argyll is so well. I have the honour to be, with the most perfect respect, The Duchess of Argyll's

Very much obliged and most obed^t^
and most Humble Servt
WM. FARQUHAR.

LONDON, 15*th Sept^r^*, 1779.

Mr. W. Farquhar to the Duchess of Argyll.

About a week ago I had the honour of your Grace's letter, which I should have answered sooner if I could have executed the Commission. I have been at the Hotels, but can find no one going to Spa. I shall be upon the look out, and in the course of ten days I dare say I shall have an opportunity of sending the drops. I am happy to hear that Lady Derby is perfectly recovered. Her Ladyship's illness must have made your Grace very uneasy and miserable, which are feelings that must have great effect upon so delicate a constitution as the Duchess of Argyll's. I hope Inverary air may brace and do good. I have not heard from Down Place, so I conclude Lord John is very well. I hope the Duke, Lady Augusta, the Marquis, and Lady Charlotte continue in high health. May I beg leave to present my most respectful compliments ?

This Summer has passed away as former ones without any thing decisive. Nothing has occurred that I have thought worth troubleing your Grace about. The Dutch Battle is almost forgot. Both sides claim the victory, and if Zoutman told truth in his public letter, we had the superiority. As to the combined fleets, we are so accustomed to their Parade, that we do not seem the least alarmed at what they can do. If they should get up as far as Portsmouth, our Great ministers might leave their country Seats, and have a meeting extraordinary upon the occasion. Nothing less could rouse us. Thurot made ten times as much bustle last war. Peace is now never talked of. Twenty million for next year the public begin to bargain for,

and they say Lord North may have what he pleases, so he may sleep on.

Sir George Rodney is arrived and is expected in Town to-day. If Lord Sandwich and he can settle matters, the old gentleman it is thought may Command the Channel Fleet. I have the honor to be, with the most perfect respect, The Duchess of Argyll's very much obliged and most devoted Humble Servt,

WM. FARQUHAR.

22nd Sept.

To Her Grace the Duchess of Hamilton and Argyll, London.

MADAM,

As My husband & myself pass'd thro Brussells for Holland we ask'd for curiosity who and who of the English were togather—but there is none we knew, but as a sincere friend to your Grace I learnt what I must communicate to you, that Lord L-r-ne and his travelling Tutor are here and flattered to the eyes by Lady T—— our minister's wife; she has a beautifull daughter about 16 years old—poor L-d L-r-e is smiten. I hope it won't be to late, but order him from here imediately. L-y T—— is cunning itself, and thereby snapt up Lord J. Russell on his road for one of her Daughters. If I am to busy forgive me, but I have the honor of knowing your Grace, and shall when I return to England disclose myself to y^{r} Grace—therefore at present reveal not any corespondence on this head, but order L-d L-r-ne *from this Town*, lest y^{r} family pays L-y T——'s debts here, which I am told are very heavy ones.

Adieu—& God prosper you.

The Countess of Hertford to the Duchess of Argyll.

My dear Duchess,

I have obeyed your Grace's commands in the fullest manner; & Her Majesty received your excuse very graciously. I will certainly wait for you if you are not arrived, but as I am always very glad to see you, I should wish this bad weather would bring you to London sooner than you intended. Their Majesties are in perfect health, & continue at Kew some time longer. Will your Grace excuse my begging, if it won't give you much trouble, that you will bring me 2 Scotch Gauze gowns for my daughters for the King's birthday? Lady Holdernesse met with a disagreeable accident last Monday; she cut her face so bad against a door that she was forced to have it sewn up by Mr. Hawkins. She is free from fever but I believe suffers very much, as the wound is very deep, I believe 3 inches long. I had the pleasure of hearing very lately that Lady Augusta Campbell was quite well again, & dancing with her usual vivacity. I beg you will present my best compliments to the Duke of Argyll & the young ladies. I am, dear Madam,

Your Grace's faithful & obedient servant,

Isabella Hertford.

London, *Thursday, Nov. ye 11th.*

Note.—The Countess of Hertford represented Queen Charlotte at the christening of the Duchess of Argyll's eldest son by her second marriage, when King George III. and the Duke of Gloucester were present at Argyll House.

To Mr. Jas. Ferrier, Writer to the Signet, Edinburgh.

INVERARAY, *Sept. the 9th,* 1782.

SIR,

If there are any of the Plated Candlesticks to be got in Edin^r you must send two pair of them here by the first opportunity; the plainer they are, the better; if Miss Campbell has not Left Edin^r before you receive this, she can choose them for me; I do not mean Hand Candlesticks, but for a Dinning Table.

I am, Sir, your Humble Servant,
E. ARGYLL HAMILTON.

You must also send one Doz^n of Breakfast Knives, the best you can find in Edin^r. I am in a hurry for all these things.

To the Duchess of Argyll.

HAMILTON, *Sept. 22nd,* 1782.

DEAR MADAM,

The Weather has been so Excessively bad ever since I rec'd Your Grace's Letter, which was on the 14th, that We were Obliged to give up all thoughts of our Voyage to Inverary and Must now postpone The Pleasure of Seeing you till after Next week. I should have troubled You with this Letter sooner but have had no opportunity. We were much disappointed upon Our Arrival Here last night hearing Lady Derby was gone to Inverary as we had some Hopes of Seeing Her from your Grace's Letter. Pray give My Love to Her and tell Her How impatient I [am] for That Pleasure. She carried

LETTER FROM THE DUCHESS OF GLOUCESTER

p. 211]

off Eliz. in a Shamefull Manner. It is Hardly to be forgiven, but I was Very Happy to Hear She behaved so Well. The Duke Desires His Love to your Grace (and to shorten My Letter) All the rest of The Family.

I am, Dear Madam, Yours Affectionately,

E. HAMILTON.

The Duchess of Gloucester to the Duchess of Argyll.

GLOUCESTER HOUSE,
Monday.

MY DEAR DUCHESS,

I am, thank God, so much recover'd that altho my Month is but just up, I shall go out of Town on Thursday. I hope you are well & have recover'd your spirits? The Duke is not so well as I flatter myself he will be when he is settled in the country: he is immoderately fond of his little Girl; I do not think he would have been so fond of a boy—*fonder* is not possible. She was Christen'd last Saturday; as the King refus'd his brother to be Godfather to his Child, the Duke was at liberty to choose the name, therefore he has had her named Sophia Matilda, the first name after the Electress Sophia—& by that name she goes: she is a very healthy Child, & I flatter myself will be very like her father.

I am, my dear Duchess, ever truly yours,

MARIA.

(*Endorsed*) from the late Dss of Gloucester.

NOTE.—Countess of Waldegrave become Duchess of Gloucester signs herself "Maria" as one of the King's family.

Lord Frederick Campbell to the Duchess of Argyll.

LONDON, *August 7th*, 1784.

I have just received, my Dear Dutchess, your Grace's Letter of July 31st. Your plan of distributing what Lady Wm. Campbell* now enjoys is good and kind, but I am afraid cannot take place as you wish.

Lady Will'm has not as I understand any Pension, but is only allow'd a Part of the Money given by the Publick to support American Sufferers.

To succeed effectually in any Provision for Louisa and Miss Campbell I believe your Grace will find the mode must be chang'd, and I really wish you would consult with my Brother upon it.

I write to your Grace in a hurry that no Time may be lost.

Yours most affectionately,

FREDK. CAMPBELL.

Mr. James Ferrier to the Duchess of Argyll.

MY LADY DUTCHESS,

I am sorry I have been so long of finding a person to go to Inverary to teach Lady Charlotte the harpsichord. Those of any sort of merit were so engaged, either in teaching, or to attendance during this week at public places, that I could not find one to go till now that one Stuart is recommended, as a tolerable Teacher, tho' a very indifferent Performer. He will eat at the second table and expect from three half

* Widow of Lord W. Campbell, last Royal Governor of South Carolina.

LETTER FROM QUEEN CHARLOTTE TO THE DUCHESS OF ARGYLL

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Crowns to ten shillings a day. Your Grace will be pleased to let me know if you wish him to be sent.

I have the honour to be with the utmost respect, My Lady Dutchess,

Your Grace's much obliged faithful Ser't,

JA: FERRIER.

ED. 28 *July*, 1786.

The Comte de Polignac to the Duke of Argyll.*

PARIS, *le* 28 [?]*bre.*

Très cher Duc et très aimable Cousin et l'adorable cousine et tous les descendants sans oublier ma très chère femme qui n'a pas voulu prendre figaro et qui m'a gardé, embrassés la pour moi.

Je vous suis, j'ai écrit a dijon au M'ir de Vargennes. La maladie de sa femme l'a fait rester à la campagne, il vient de la perdre. Je vous crois à Lyon, je charge M. Le Président Bosset et Madame sa femme de vous remettre ma lettre ; il est possible que l'air de Lyon ne vous convienne pas, il est humide. Je vous crois donc partis pour Marseille, je le souhaite. J'ai écrit il y a plusieurs jours au Comte de Thiars qui commande dans la Province d'avoir pour vous tous les égards, les respects, les commodités qui vous sont utile. Voilà la façon d'agir, de penser, et de sentir de votre ami Le vieux Polignac votre cousin. Embrasséz bien tout le monde pour moi, et donnéz moi de vos nouvelles plutôt deux fois qu'une si vous vouléz que ma santé

* Jules de Polignac married a Miss Campbell, which is probably the reason he talks of himself as a cousin.

se fortifie. Adieu, mon cher Duc, aimés moi, vous le devés, et vous etés juste. Mon attachement pour vous et pour toute la noble compagnie est à l'éternité.

POLIGNAC.

Passés vous de complimens, car je ne les connois pas.

Edmund Burke to the Duchess of Argyll.

Mr Burke presents his most respectful compliments to the Dutchess of Argyll, & is extremely concerned at finding that he has lost the Irish Newspapers which her Grace seem'd desirous of seeing. He cannot leave Inveraray, without wish'ng to express in his own Name & Mr. Windham's, the very strong sense they both entertain of the polite attention shewn to them by her Grace & the Duke, & of the very obliging manner in which their Graces has been so kind as to make the finest place in the world the most agreeable. They beg their best compliments to Lady Derby, Lady Augusta, & Lord Lorne.

Tuesday morn.

NOTE.—I give the last letter that I have of Elizabeth's, for it is pathetically eloquent of her failing health in 1790, when she returned from Naples to London and passed a little time at Geneva. She could only write a few lines, and the weakness of which she complained was destined to kill her before the end of the year. But she enjoyed Geneva, as she had enjoyed Naples, where she had seen much of her distant Hamilton kinsman the British Minister there,

LETTER FROM EDMUND BURKE TO THE DUCHESS OF ARGYLL

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and had been so kind to the beautiful Miss Hart that Sir William took courage from the Duchess's goodness to marry her and make her Lady Hamilton. Had it not been so it is doubtful if Emma Hart would have remained at Naples and become "Nelson's Lady Hamilton." The Duchess travelled back by Switzerland with the Duke and two daughters and Colonel Clavering, the husband of Augusta. She says in her letter that it was considered safe to pass through France, but at Lyon her carriages were attacked by a mob and pelted with stones, and they only reached their hotel with difficulty. The "furia francesi" was not over. She never saw Scotland again, but died on December 21st in Argyll House, Argyll Street, London.

The Duchess of Argyll to Lady Campbell of Ardkinglass.

GENEVA, *July ye* 1*st*, 1790.

DEAR LADY CAMPBELL,

The Picture is certainly yours. I had it painted on purpose to give it to you, and am very much flattered that you think it worth cleaning. The hot weather has reduced me very much, and I am not quite so well as when I left Naples, but I hope soon to be better. The Duke and Charlotte are very well, and we left Augusta almost quite recovered at Florence about a fortnight ago and her child quite well.

I remain, dear Madam, your affectionate
Humble Servant,
E. ARGYLL HAMILTON.

To LADY CAMPBELL.

DEAR MISS CAMPBELL,

Give this letter to Lady Campbell. I am not able at present to write any more. I wish Lady Derby would try the cold Bath. If she glows after coming out of it, it will do her good I am sure.

Yrs, E. A. H.

NOTE.—Written six months before the death of the writer.

An undated Letter of 1790.

MY DEAR CAMELIA,

I think this place beautiful and the Inn delightfull. There are a good number of English here. We are to leave it to-morrow evening or Saturday morn at furthest, and intend going home through France, as Papa hears it is safe. Thank God, we are getting nearer you all. Adieu, I have no news. I am very sorry your letter to —— was too late to have your requests complied with as we only received them yesterday.

Believe me, Ever yours.

From Lady Augusta Clavering, youngest daughter of the Duchess of Argyll, written during the last year but one of her mother's life, from Ealing, where the Duchess had a house.*

EALING, 1789.

MY DEAR LADY STAFFORD,

I am very glad to tell you that Mama with her love desires me to acquaint you that she is now vastly better. She had some return

* Married Colonel Clavering. Died and buried at Rosneath.

p. 216] LETTER FROM LORD ERSKINE

of her complaint a few days ago, but now she eats well, and I think she has got a little embonpoint. I fear you have been sitting up too late at some of the Scarborough Balls. I wish there were not so many Partners. We must scold Lady G. and Charlotte for their peccadilloes. I have spent 2 days at Hampton Court with Mrs Pechill. They have a pretty appartment at the top of the Palace. There is a most beautiful and extensive view. They have 5 or 6 very large good Rooms. The Terrace is a pleasant walk, and we used it in the Evg. to take our Book and work and go to sit on a Bench which goes by the name of Purr Corner, because generally seized upon by all the old Ladies of the Palace, as it is sheltered from Wind and Sun. Such is the rage for Cards in assemblies even at this season that Mrs French and several other people have Parties frequently. Mrs F had the other night I daresay 40 people assembled in a very hot room. Mama says, however, that as they are chiefly composed of the Old, the Lame, and the Blind, it is the best thing they could do. . . .

Your ever truly affecate

A. Clavering.

LETTERS FROM AUGUSTA DUCHESS OF BRUNSWICK TO DUCHESS OF ARGYLL

1769–1789

Lady Mary Coke, daughter of the 2nd Duke of Argyll, could never forgive Providence for not allowing her to be born a man and successor to her father, who had no boys, and she was jealous of the Duchess of Hamilton and of her cousin who succeeded to the Argyll Dukedom. As the Duchess of Brunswick was a great friend of the Duchess of Hamilton, Lady Mary was not inclined to like her either. "Poll Coke," as Lady Derby calls her in a letter, was one of the most forward to condemn Lady Derby, who says she never could expect a good word from her.

Lady Mary speaks thus of the Duchess of Brunswick in 1768: "Some foreigner that met the Princess of Brunswick when she had left England, asked her if she was not unhappy at having quitted it, to which she answered, No, that she had no reason; that indeed when she first returned everybody seemed very glad to see her again, but that now she was come away, she believed there might be bonfires made to rejoice at her being gone; 'Such,' said she, 'is the nature of the English.' I am not sorry H.R.H. is so well acquainted with the sentiments of this country with regard to her,

AUGUSTA, DUCHESS OF BRUNSWICK

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but she does them most cruel injustice in attributing the dislike to her to levity in the disposition of the people and not to her own conduct here."

Lady Mary Coke says the Hereditary Prince when he married the Princess Augusta made her rouge her cheeks.

The lady whose correspondence includes the letters now published was the daughter of Frederick Prince of Wales, and therefore eldest sister of Prince George, who became George III. Her father was on such bad terms with his parents, George II. and his Queen, that he never informed them that a babe was expected until he could conceal it no longer. In July of the year 1737 he announced that the event might be expected, and, apparently careless of his wife's health, moved her twice from Hampton Court to London, where, shortly after her last move, she gave birth to the child which was named Augusta. Lord Hervey tells all about her birth—how her father insisted on her mother, when already in the pains of labour, getting into a coach at Hampton Court, and with three ladies and two dressers, and a valet on the box and more men behind, driving to St. James's, where the poor woman gave birth to "a little rat of a girl, about the bigness of a good large toothpick case, none of the Lords of the Council being present but Lord President Wilmington and Lord Godolphin." The King and Queen remained at Hampton Court, being quite unaware that their daughter-in-law had been removed to London. The cause of all this "fuss" was that George II. had wished his daughter-in-law to be confined at Hampton

Court, and Frederick Prince of Wales wanted the child to be born in London. The King and Queen believed that a child might be "imposed on them," and desired to have all certified under their own eyes in their own house. Frederick Prince of Wales did not care to undergo their scrutiny, and desired his wife to be under his own guardianship.

Thus, born in 1737, Princess Augusta's life was a long one, ending only in 1813, when she died in the country of her birth in a house in Spring Gardens. Hervey describes her birth and the surprise of the Queen when told she would not only want her nightgown to go to the Princess, but her coaches too, "for the Princess is at St. James's." "Are you mad, or are you asleep?" she shouted at the lady who came to call her. The King flew into a violent passion and scolded the Queen in German. "This is all your fault. There is a false child will be put upon you, and how will you answer it to all your children? This has been fine care and fine management." The Queen said little, but got up, dressed as fast as she could, ordered her coaches, and sent to the Duke of Grafton and Lord Hervey to go with her. They took an hour and a half on the way, and at St. James's the Prince of Wales met his mother and gave her all the news and his explanation, which his mother received in silence, being, as she said, determined not to dispute or contradict anything her son should say, let it be ever so extravagantly absurd or ever so glaringly false. She said also that she had no doubt the child was the Princess's own child, "and if instead of this poor little ugly she-mouse, there had been a beautiful jolly

Boy, I should not have been cured of my suspicions."

It is difficult to understand the ill-humour and the constant misunderstandings which resulted in all this suspicion on the parents' side and concealment on that of Frederick Prince of Wales. It was the interest of the Opposition to set the son against the father, and this game was incessantly played, so that the child Augusta's early impressions must have been those of perpetual quarrelling in the family.

The christening, after more quarrelling, took place on August 29th. The King asked the Duke of Grafton to represent him. Lady Burlington represented the Queen, and Lady Torrington the Duchess Dowager of Saxe-Gotha. The name given was Augusta, and the Prince of Wales sent round word that he wanted the old English title Lady Augusta and Her Royal Highness, as he disliked the title Princess. He always wrote to the King and Queen in French, the King answering in English.

It was as though the Prince of Wales thought his infant had no business to be born. The Queen greeted the child with the words, "God bless you, poor little creature, you have come into a disagreeable world!" But the father of the babe was not to escape a good scolding. Lord Essex wrote he was told "to acquaint your Royal Highness that His Majesty most heartily rejoices at the safe delivery of the Princess; but that your carrying away of Her Royal Highness from Hampton Court, the then residence of the King, the Queen, and the Royal Family, under the pains and certain indication of immediate labour, to the imminent danger and hazard both of the Princess

and her child, and after sufficient warning for a week before, to have made the necessary preparations for this happy event, without acquainting His Majesty or the Queen with the circumstances the Princess was in, or giving them the least notice of your departure, is looked upon by the King to be such a deliberate indignity offered to himself and to the Queen, that he resents it to the highest degree."

This was followed by the following formidable missive:

George R.—The professions you have lately made in your letters, of your peculiar regards to me, are so contradictory of all your actions, that I cannot suffer myself to be imposed upon by them. You know very well that you did not give the least intimation to me or to the Queen that the Princess was with child, until within less than a month of the birth of the young Princess: you removed the Princess twice in the week immediately preceding the day of her delivery from the place of my residence, in expectation as you have voluntarily declared of her labour; and both times upon your return, you industriously concealed from the knowledge of me and of the Queen every circumstance relating to this important affair; and you at last, without giving any notice to me, or to the Queen, precipitately hurried the Princess from Hampton Court, in a condition not to be named. After having thus, in execution of your determined measures, exposed both the Princess and her child to the greatest perils, you now plead surprise and tenderness for the Princess, as the only motives that occasioned these repeated indignities offered

to me and to the Queen your mother. This extravagant and undutiful behaviour in so essential a point as the birth of an heir to my Crown is such evidence to your premeditated defiance of me, and such a contempt of my authority, and of the natural right belonging to your Parents, as cannot be excused by the pretended innocence of your intentions, nor palliated and disguised by specious words only. But the whole tenour of your conduct for a considerable time has been so entirely void of all real duty to me that I have long had reason to be highly offended with you. And until you withdraw your regard and confidence from those by whose instigation and advice you are directed and encouraged in your unwarrantable behaviour to me and to your Queen, and until your return to your duty, you shall not reside in my palace, which I will not suffer to be made the resort of them who, under the appearance of an attachment for you, foment the division which you have made in my family, and thereby broken the common interest of the whole. In the meantime it is my pleasure that you leave St. James's with all your family, when it can be done without prejudice and injury to the Princess. I shall for the present leave to the Princess the care of my granddaughter, until a proper time calls upon me to consider of her education.

G. R.

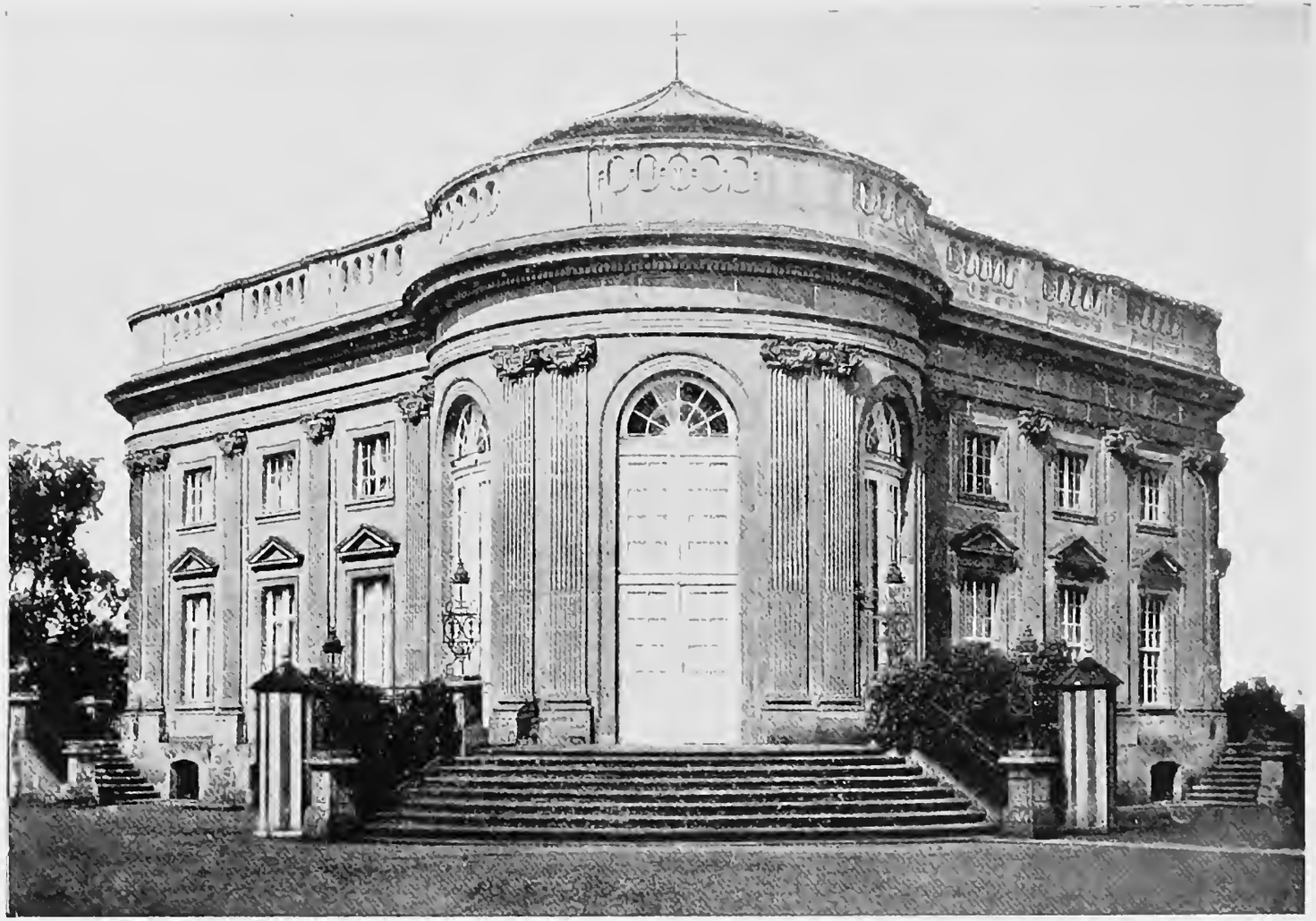
Frederick Prince of Wales, the baby Augusta's father, thereafter lived at Norfolk House in St. James's Square, and then at Leicester House in Leicester Square.

The little Augusta early showed a taste for

reading, and we hear of her as being found fault with for having got hold of a work styled "The English Revolution," written by the direction of James II. But the bent of her mind was not to justify such a policy as that pursued by James II., or even by her brother, George III., and was rather to make friends among those opposed to the King's Government.

As was natural, there is not much to remark in the early life of Princess Augusta—the simple and domestic though stately life led by George II. "The Prince of Wales's family is an example of innocent and cheerful amusements," Mary Lepel says. "All last summer they played out of doors, and now in the winter in a large Room they divert themselves at base-ball" (the parent game of the American sport still called by the same name), "a play all who are or have been schoolboys are well acquainted with. The ladies as well as gentlemen join in the amusement, and in the evening they play for an hour at the old and innocent game of Push Pin." Quin, the actor, was stage manager for the theatrical performances. Addison's play of *Cato* was given by the youngsters, and Princess Augusta took the part of Marcia. The prologue was spoken by Prince George, afterwards George III., and the epilogue by Prince Edward and Princess Augusta. These little plays were given at Leicester House. They acted also Rowe's tragedy of *Lady Jane Grey*.

The father of all these children, Frederick Prince of Wales, died when only forty-nine years of age, in March 1751. Dodington wrote: "I was told at Leicester House at 3 o'clock that the Prince was much better and had slept eight hours in the night before. Before 10 o'clock



"RICHMOND," A PALACE AT BRUNSWICK, OFTEN USED BY PRINCESS AUGUSTA, DUCHESS OF BRUNSWICK

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at night the Prince was a corpse. He was being entertained by a violin player, when he began coughing, and saying, '*Je sens la mort*,' and before his wife, who was in the next room, could reach him, he was dead!"

The Princess of Wales was left with eight children. The King (George II.), who had not been on good terms with his eldest son, came and showed kindness, consoling the widow, and when little Princess Augusta tried to kiss his hand, he refused to allow her, and took her in his arms, embracing her affectionately.

George II. died of rupture of the heart at Kensington Palace. His successor, Princess Augusta's eldest brother, was only twenty-two when he became King. She was his favourite sister until she showed a tendency to "meddle" in politics, and to take a line of opinion which was not that of the Sovereign. I give two portraits of her which show the singular fairness of her complexion and the blondness of her hair. The old word "Lady" was still used, as in Horace Walpole's description of her: "Lady Augusta was not handsome, but tall enough and not ill made, with the German whiteness of hair and complexion so remarkable in the Royal family, with their precipitate yet thick Westphalian accent."

A visit to Nuneham is chronicled, when the King and Queen took her there for a ceremony at Oxford. She was charmed with the lovely surroundings of the large house, which, although not finished as far as the restorations were concerned, was hospitably placed at the King's disposal by its owner, Lord Harcourt, who made the stay of the King's party a very pleasant one. There was a great reception in the City of

Learning, and Lord and Lady Harcourt drove them over to Blenheim, and the Duchess of Marlborough wrote: "Considering the shortness of the notice, the visit here went off very well. The King and Queen stayed here from 11 to 6. We had breakfast for them in the Library, and after they returned from seeing the Park, some cold meats and fruit. Lord and Lady Harcourt told us [the Duke and Duchess of Marlborough] that we were to sit as Lord and Lady of the Bedchamber all the time they stayed here; and poor Lord Harcourt seemed quite happy to be able to rest himself, and the Duke of Marlborough found him sitting down behind every door where he could be concealed from royal eyes. [The Queen was held to be cruelly particular in desiring every one to observe this standing etiquette.] We were just an hour going over the principal floor, as they stopped and examined everything in every room; and we never sat down during that hour, or, indeed, very little but while we were in the carriages. Lord Harcourt told the Duke of Marlborough that he had been full dressed in a bag and sword every morning since Saturday; but the Duke of Marlborough could not follow his example in that as he had no dress coat or sword in the country. Nobody could do the thing better or more thoroughly than he did." The King's attacks of insanity began soon after this visit, causing all the family the greatest distress.

Augusta was married in 1764 to the brave young Hereditary Prince of Brunswick, a marriage much to the liking of the English people, who resented reports that King George II. and his Queen were not paying him due honours, although they were well pleased that their

"radical" daughter should find a new home in Germany.

There is a paragraph in the *Times* of January 5, 1808, saying that several of the lodgers at Kensington Palace had received notice to vacate their rooms for the visit of the Duchess of Brunswick and the Princess of Wales, reminding us that the unfortunate marriage of the Prince Regent with his Brunswick first cousin, Caroline, daughter of the Duchess of Brunswick, had been acquiesced in by "Aunt Augusta of Brunswick," although, as seen from one of the following letters, she knew all about Mrs. F. H. (Mrs. FitzHerbert).

We are apt to forget also that the heroic "fated Chieftain," as Byron calls the Duke of Brunswick who fought so heroically against Napoleon and was killed at Quatre-Bras, was the brother-in-law as well as first cousin of "the first gentleman in Europe," George IV.

THE HEREDITARY DUKE OF BRUNSWICK'S MARRIAGE TO PRINCESS AUGUSTA, ELDEST SISTER OF GEORGE III

Horace Walpole.

Jan. 1764.—"The Hereditary Prince of Brunswick is expected and not yet arrived. On his arrival the question was put to him, 'When do you go?' The servants of the King and Queen were forbid to put on their new clothes for the wedding, or Drawing Room next day. Such pains was taken to keep the Prince from any intercourse with the Opposition [with whom the King and Queen were at variance, and who were favoured by the Princess Royal, the bride]

that the Prince has done nothing but take notice of them. He not only wrote to the Duke of Newcastle and Mr. Pitt [the two leaders], but has been at Hayes to see Mr. Pitt, and has dined twice with the Duke of Cumberland [who sided with the Opposition]. He and Princess Augusta have shown their dislikes to strongly, and his suite have complained so much of the neglect and disregard of him, and of the very quick dismission of him, that the people have caught it, and on Thursday at the Play received the King and Queen without the least symptom of applause, but repeated such outrageous exclamations to the Prince as operated very visibly on the King's countenance. Not a gun was fired for the marriage, and Princess Augusta asking Lord Gower about some ceremony, to which he replied it could not be, as no such thing had been done for the Prince of Orange.

"The Royal family went to the Opera on Saturday: the crowd not to described. The Duchess of Leeds, Lady Scarborough, and others sat on chairs between the scenes. . . . Women of fashion stood on the very stairs till eight at night. In the middle of the 2nd act, the Hereditary Prince [the bridegroom], who sat with Princess Augusta and her brothers in their box, got up, turned his back to the King and Queen, pretending to offer his place to Lady Tankerville and Lady Susan. You know enough of Germans and their stiffness to etiquette to be sure that this was not done inadvertently; especially as he repeated this in the Third Act [turning his back on the royal box]. He is extremely slender, and looks many years older than he is. In short I suppose it is his manner with which everybody is captivated, for . . . he

is far from striking in his person. The Court by accident or design had forgot to have a Bill passed for naturalising him. You may judge how he will report of us at his return. When Mr. Grenville objected to the greatness of his fortune the King said, 'Oh, it will not be opposed, for Augusta is in the Opposition.' At Soho the Duke of Cumberland placed himself at supper at the head of the table. One of the waiters tapped him on the shoulder and said, 'Sir, y^r Royal Highness can't sit there, that place is designed for the Hereditary Prince.' You ought to have seen how everybody's head is turned by this Prince, to make this story credible to you. My Lady Rockingham, at Leicester House yesterday, cried great sobs for his departure."

The departure is described by Jesse: "The King had ample reasons for the departure of his sister and Brother in Law, and accordingly it was resolved to fix them to the day which had been originally named for their going. The day was a gloomy one and the weather tempestuous, yet when the carriage containing the Bride and Bridegroom emerged from the gateway of St. James's Palace, a crowd of kind faces had assembled to smile farewell to them, while prayers and blessings accompanied them on their route to the Coast. That night they slept at Witham, Lord Abercorn's seat in Essex, the same mansion which had entertained Princess Augusta's Sister in Law Queen Charlotte on her first arrival from Mecklenburg." Their quarters would seem to have been most uncomfortable. On the 3rd February Mrs. Carter writes to her friend, Miss Talbot: "Very pathetic are the lamentations made over the Prince and Princess

and their distresses on the road to Harwich. It seems that Lord Abercorn had the desire of entertaining them, but nothing was accepted but his house. Care was to be taken of all the rest. Such care was taken that when the Princess arrived at midnight at Witham, as dark and as cold and as hungry belike as a Princess might be, they found neither candle nor fire nor food. At supper the Princess looked so woebegone as to attract the attention of her husband. 'Eh, what is the matter, my dear Princess?' he said. 'Do you miss your guards? We are all equal here. But comfort yourself, when you get to Brunswick you shall have guards.' The Princess it is said smiled and soon recovered her cheerfulness." As a matter of course the hardships encountered were ascribed to private instructions deliberately issued by the Court.

The yacht which carried the Princess and Prince from Harwich set sail in most inclement weather, and before long was overtaken by a tempest. From the end of January till near the middle of February no tidings of them reached London, and consequently the most lively apprehensions began to be entertained for their safety. Party malice attributed their peril to the Court having driven them away at such a season, and accordingly, when on the 7th February a rumour reached London that the yacht had foundered on the coast of Holland, the indignation of the public was exceeded only by its lamentations. The basket women, one letter says, have been most intemperately vociferous in their wishes that all who sent the Prince and Princess away in such weather were in their places. "Fierce, however, as had been

the tempest, the yacht escaped uninjured, and safely landed them at Helvetsluys in Holland."

During her whole life in Brunswick Augusta kept up a constant correspondence with her English friends, and I give some of her letters. A most faithful friend, she was ever ready to receive with kindliest hospitality those recommended to her kindness. This will be especially seen in the letters where she welcomes Lady Derby after her separation from her husband, for she was determined to befriend the daughter of Elizabeth Duchess of Hamilton. She was often alone at Brunswick with her household, the Duke of Brunswick's military duties obliging him to be often in the field. After his death she visited England frequently.

Karl Wilhelm Ferdinand was born in 1735, a nephew of Frederick II. of Prussia. He had the good fortune to be appointed to the command of the Brunswick troops in the Allied Army during the Seven Years' War. His uncle, the Great Fritz, wrote that "Nature had intended him for a Hero" when he distinguished himself by recapturing from the French a battery that had been taken by them. At the battle of Crefeld it was owing to his efforts that the Prussians won the day, and his name had become well known in England before his visit when Hereditary Prince to claim the King's sister as his bride.

It is easy to account for the popularity among the Londoners of the marriage of Augusta and Ferdinand. The Seven Years' War had practically been kindled by the vagueness of the provisions of the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle regarding matters in dispute between France and England

in America. The Treaty of Utrecht had given Nova Scotia to England, but the boundaries were not defined. It was the same in regard to Canada. The line of French fortifications built along the Ohio was considered a danger to the Virginians and the settlers to the north. These questions were open sores. The English under Admiral Boscawen began hostilities by taking two French liners near Belleisle.

Thus the war began. France tried to get Prussia to join against England. But Frederick the Second chose England as his ally. The Treaty between Prussia and England was signed in 1756. The only inducement France had held out to Frederick as a reward to him if he would invade Hanover was the island of Tobago! By the Treaty with England both States guaranteed each other's possessions. The sympathies therefore of the English were wholly with Prussia and her allies. The Hereditary Prince of Brunswick's mother was sister to Frederick, and she said to her son as he took leave in the presence of a regiment of the Guard, "I forbid you to appear again in my presence unless you have performed deeds worthy of your birth and your relatives." His father was put in command of the English troops given to Frederick. On one occasion only was an English officer found unworthy, when Lord George Sackville failed to obey orders to charge with his cavalry before the fortress of Minden. Notwithstanding this the Hereditary Prince's father gained a victory, the English soldiers fighting with their usual gallantry and suffering very heavily. It is in memory of this fight that the 12th, 20th, 23rd, 25th, 37th, and 51st Regiments have the word "Minden" on their colours. Frederick was so pleased with

his nephew's conduct that he conferred on him the order of the Black Eagle. Soon afterwards he honoured him by the gift of a sword set with diamonds and an ode, in which, after references to Cincinnatus and to Jupiter heaping Ossa upon Pelion, he says :

Regardez-le, ma sœur, l'amour vous y convie,
Dans vos flancs vertueux ce héros prit la vie,
Et ses rares talents ;
Votre belle âme en lui retraça son image,
De son auguste Père il a tout le courage
Et les grands sentiments.

Tels ces peuples de la Seine
Armèrent leurs faibles mains,
Sûrs de subjuguer sans peine
Les indomptables Germains.
De la gloire voyant l'ombre
S'affuyant sur leur grand nombre,
D'un trophée ils font l'apprêt ;
Mais les ruines fatales
Sont leurs pompes triomphales,
Et leur gloire disparaît.

* * * *

Tel Ferdinand, cet Alcide
Par des coups prémédités
Dissipe en son cours rapide
Les Français épouvantés ;
L'ennemi manque d'audace,
Il fuit, un Dieu le terrasse,
Il redoute les combats :
Voilà le juste salaire,
O nation téméraire !
De vos derniers attentats.
Devant Ferdinand tout plie ;
Il affranchit le Véser ;
Il tire la Westphalie
Du joug du Français altier ;
Les ennemis en déroute
Prennent de Paris la route.

* * *

Le Héros dont rien n'arrête
Le cours rapide et constant,
Signale d'une conquête
Chaque pas et chaque instant.
Et du Rhin l'onde captive
Soudain sur son autre rive
Voit flotter ses étendards.
Créfeld, témoin de sa gloire,
Dans les bras de la Victoire
Le prend pour un fils de Mars, etc.

Prince Ferdinand succeeded his father in 1780 in the Duchy of Brunswick. A very successful campaign in support of Holland seven years later enhanced his high military reputation.

Again in 1792 he was campaigning against the French, with less success. During the next year he commanded at the battle of Weissenburg. Then came a time of peace, but as late as 1806 he was again in the field, fighting at Jena and mortally wounded at Auerstadt, thus closing a heroic career at the end of that year.

Pitt was among his admirers. "Five times," he wrote, "he pressed the French Infantry at the head of Elliott's [British Regiment]; his horse wounded under him, and a led horse behind him killed. Massenbach wrote, quoting the Prince's words regarding one of his exploits: "It was in February: the Weser was covered with floating ice; the night was rough; no fisherman could be found who had the courage to put us across. I found gold, and the men then found a supply of courage. They ferried part of the Regiment of Hauss and the body-guard safely across. A violent storm then arose. The remaining companies of these Regiments had to remain on the right bank. With my small body of men I continued the advance on Hozay. The French Patrols had neglected

their duty owing to the fearful inclemency of the weather. We came on them at the first houses of the town. Out of one of these came a Frenchman. He looked at us and tried to escape. But I lay'd hold of him myself, and grasped him by the throat. 'You are a lost man,' I said, 'if you speak a word,' and I pointed my sword at his breast. 'Where are your comrades?' We marched straight forwards, and came on them so unexpectedly that they first became aware of our existence from hearing our fire. This fire settled the business. We were masters of the bridge. You know the rest. Alas! these times are over. How lucky we used to be then!"

Of his character Chuquet wrote concerning the winter campaign (1793) against the French: "The Duke of Brunswick placed himself at the head of the troops. He formed them again, and drew them after him, and as a Prussian officer said, 'seemed the God of War himself.' Under him the Austrians regain their courage. 'The Duke is commanding us,' they cry; 'all will now do well.' Colonel Kökeritz brought up twelve guns, and Colonel Klenau came with them. 'Come,' cried the Duke to him, 'Come and share our glory or our death.' 'Yes,' replied Klenau, 'I shall have the joy of fighting under the greatest of generals.' Owing to the Duke's activity and resource, the army was able to form again behind the River Lauter. The Duke was the hero of the battle. He then seemed to be as of old, once again as in his youth, keen and quick to make the best of any situation, hazarding his life in the thick of the fight. One of his critics justly said, he would have done better if he could have been always on horseback

in a campaign, and never been allowed to settle down to his writing-table, where his mind was attacked and captured by considerations born of over-caution."

Of the death of the Duke of Brunswick, a most interesting account was given by the man who acted as his guide during the foggy morning. This man had been pressed into the service, and was one of three who were taken to show the way through the enclosed country. At the end of a long narrative he says:

"At this moment the left wing of the French was completely thrown back and crushed. One heard the good news going round, 'Our right wing has thrown 30,000 Frenchmen into the Saale River; we have taken 30 pieces of cannon.' Then arose the joyous cry, *Vivat! Vive le Roi!* a cry in which the whole army joined. Nevertheless the right wing of the French had maintained themselves between Spielberg and Hassenhausen, and one of our cavalry regiments received orders to charge them. This regiment rode against a battery, but after some loss was obliged to retire. The French rallied. They sought to take the Prussians in flank. The Prussian line's position had to be altered. The Duke tried several times to deploy our troops on the left in such fashion that we could not be rushed from that side, but he did not reach that point. He was so fully engaged himself in the firing line, that he found himself on several occasions in advance of his own battalion. His horse was killed by a ball, and I received a shot in the left side, causing me to lose all energy although it did not wound me severely. Shivering and with chattering teeth, I felt all my

limbs crack, and I could no longer keep steady, for the cannon shot flew around my head as thick as snowflakes, and the bullets whistled like snipe.

"Meanwhile, in the midst of all these causes of anxiety, I had been able to get hold of a Prussian horse, but at this moment I saw the horse of an officer of the French cavalry who had been thrown. This horse was following us. I then let the Prussian horse go and seized the French horse. The Duke, who saw what I did, said to me, 'Old fellow, that horse shall be yours. Don't let them take it from you, and if any one desires to take it from you, say it is the Duke of Brunswick who has given it to you.' During this time the Prussian left had fought its way back towards Taugnitz, and hung on to the heights that cross the plains near those of Poppel. Our right was resting on the little woods of Neppsch or Diebisch. The two armies maintained themselves in this position for a time, neither yielding a foot to the other, but many men were falling. The Duke went towards Taugnitz, and traversing the highway rode towards the fine Lime Tree which grows by the side of the route. He had gone about a hundred paces, halted, and looked to the right towards the heights of Rekhausen. At this moment his hat moved a half-turn on the top of his head. I thought 'If the head-piece alone is touched, and not the head, there is no harm done.' But the Duke then looked back, and we saw his face was deluged with blood. The cry arose 'The Duke is wounded.' This happened at midday. The King had remained during all the battle on the right wing, and the Duke, at the instant when he was struck, was seeking to get some news of the

King. The wounded Duke was led to the rear, supported on his horse by an officer and a groom. His carriage was then driven to meet him on the plain of Auerstadt. He was placed in the carriage and taken to the inn of the village, where a room was demanded. Unfortunately every place was overcrowded with wounded, so that the Duke had to have his wound dressed in the carriage, and it was not possible to give him the care necessary. The projectile, which seemed to be a bullet, had entered by the left ear, and had made its exit between the right eye and the nose.

"I was then able to go home, and gave back his horse unharmed to my neighbour Christoph Meder, and wished to put into his stable the horse—a white one—I had taken. But there was no room for him. But the bullets began to rain into the village and we had to hide. My wife returned quite calm, and I was able to go to ring the church bells, as was my duty. From the church I went to the inn. Every space was full of wounded, and the Duke was still there. Everywhere a horrible spectacle was offered to my view. I was asked to bring water to wash wounds, and this I did, but I could not stay long, for I could not stand the terrible cries of these unfortunate men. I turned towards the cemetery. A voice called, 'Old fellow, where are you going? They are looking for you.' I turned and saw one of the Duke's men, with four cuirassiers. I was told that they must go towards Weymar, but not by the main road. I was desired to show the way for the Duke.

"We had hardly got to Kahlsberg when we heard the French had entered Weymar.

'Guide us to Eisleben by the nearest way,' said the wounded Duke. I answered him that I did not know the way. 'That's not possible,' he said, 'for as a dragoon you were in garrison at Eisleben.' They offered me 300 dollars. Seeing that I had no choice but to consent to be guide, I demanded at least to be allowed to fetch my horse. 'Bah!' said the Duke's man, 'it is not horses we want. You'll keep your own.' I had lost my hat. Here a postilion passed, and I got his. . . . We arrived at Reisdorf. At Granefeld we saw our soldiers in flight from Eckartsberga. I noted the position of the French, and galloping to the side of the carriage of the Duke, I said to him: 'Highness, I much wish to make you pass by the shortest way, but it is far from safe, for if the French have repulsed our left and have thrown themselves across the wood, we shall fall into their hands.' And if we had continued the way we were going this would certainly have been the result, for I have learned since that at about one o'clock the French occupied all these points. Then they asked me, 'Well, where can we pass?' . . . 'Yes, let us pass by Sangerhausen; I prefer that route,' said the Duke. . . .

"At Buttstadt the Duke desired to have the wound dressed, and we halted for this purpose at the Hotel de Weymar. While they were taking him out of the carriage, peasants of neighbouring villages arrived, crying that the French were upon them. It was necessary to replace the wounded Duke in all haste in the carriage and go on our way. Soon we found ourselves in the middle of fugitives from Jena, and the Duke cried, 'My God, are we not yet in safety here?' 'Highness,' I replied, 'this

must be a false alarm, as wherever I look I see nobody but Saxons and Prussians.' 'Then,' he said, 'I beg you not to take me any further.' . . . We went on very slowly to Colleda, and there for the first time, at a farmer's named Koch, it was possible to examine carefully the wound the Duke had received, and to bandage it properly. We had thought until then that both eyes were destroyed, but when the bandage was removed the countenance of the Duke lightened and he said, 'My lads, my right eye is still good; I can see with it.' After the dressing His Highness asked that he be left to repose for two hours.

"During this halt they tried to find a means of transport more comfortable than the carriage. A sofa was bought from a farmer and placed on a peasant's cart well filled with hay. On this the wounded Duke was placed. The journey was continued. Unluckily the arrangement made with the sofa was not a success. The jolt of the wheels throwing at each movement some stone from the track, was felt lamentably in the head of the sufferer, and this to such an extent that it was necessary to call a halt every twenty or thirty paces. Yet we at length did arrive at Reinsdorf, where the Duke insisted on being carried out of the cart. I then galloped to the village searching for two poles and sixteen porters. It was now six in the morning of the 15th October. Soon I brought the poles and the bearers. We fixed the sofa firmly between the staves, and the men relieved each other in carrying. When we got to Artern I obtained sixteen fresh porters. The first lot were dismissed, and received each of them a Louis d'or as wages.

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"After leaving Artern, we reached Etersleben, Neblingen, and Sangerhausen successively, each village yielding fresh bearers, the preceding carriers being paid off as with the first lot. At Sangerhausen at about two o'clock we halted at the Burgermaster's, and we had hardly arrived when I learned the horrible news that Auerstadt had been burned by the enemy. I trembled for my wife and family, and demanded to be allowed to go to them. But this was denied me, and I was told I must accompany the Duke as far as Brunswick. This was a thunderbolt for me. My poor wife and children! I cried out that they might be wandering at that moment, without father or husband as consolation. . . . I painted my terrible position in such colours to Colonel Kleist that he said he would refer the matter to the Duke. A few minutes later he came to me with the joyous news that I was free to go. He went again to the Duke, and after an hour returned with a certificate and gave me a double Louis d'or, and signed my leave of absence."

The guide's name was Krippendorf. He had the satisfaction of finding his family safe at Auerstadt. The poor Duke was obliged to continue his journey of pain in the most melancholy condition of bodily and mental suffering. Often he had to be taken to the right or left of the route to avoid the French cavalry, which inundated the roads in pursuit of the Prussians. It was only after three weeks that he reached Offensen, near Altona, where he died on the 10th November.

LETTERS TO THE DUCHESS OF ARGYLL, 1769–1789

BRONSVIC *the* 24 *of August* 1769.

MY DEAR DUCHESS,

My brother stai'd but tow days with me, for he long'd to be at home again, and tho' he said nothing that could make me easy about Ldy. W.* & him, I can not helpt thinking that he is married, for he spoke like a married man; he really loves her, but the passion is over. What a miserable creature she must be, poor thing, for he talked to me of apearing like a fool to stay always with her. My dear, don't tell her that I have nam'd the subject to you. William thinks about you as I could wish; he made me laught at some of the seens that he has been present at. Pray don't be impatient, for everything is but for a time, and you are to good not to have in the end your merits rewarded. I had desir'd Lady Gower to write to you about your box at the opera, but I have lost the hope I had of seeing you this winter, which I am doubly hurt at as I think I might have been in your present affliction of use to you. I don't say any more on this melancholy subject, as its renew in your memory with the most disagreable affliction Idea imaginable. Charles's health is the cause why we can not leave this place. I fear very much for him; the Prince is the most miserable creature about him, and I am not much better. I can not express how sincerely I sympathize with you, my dear, in your present distress. I shall be very unhappy till the return of the post. I hope in

* Maria Lady Waldegrave, married to the Duke of Gloucester, brother of the Duchess of Brunswick.

God to hear that your health don't suffer. This is the wish of her who will ever remain, my dear Duchess,

Your most affectionate friend,

AUGUSTA.

NOTE.—In July 1769 Elizabeth's eldest son, the Duke of Hamilton, died of a fever at Hamilton Palace. Her second husband, the Marquis of Lorne, felt the blow greatly, being much attached to the young man, and persuaded Elizabeth to leave Hamilton Palace for Rosneath. This letter of August 24th, 1769, alludes to the anxiety about the illness, but the writer had not heard of the death. The Lady Gower mentioned was Lady Susan Stewart, a cousin of Duke Hamilton's, and her husband, Lord Gower. The Duchess of Brunswick was godmother to her child. He was the father of the first Duke of Sutherland.

ANTOINETTEN RUH *th* 10 *July* 1770.

DEAR DUTCHESS,

I am always very sensible of your affection to me, and your sharing the joye I now injoye is the greatest proof of your real friendship, which I am not unworth of, as I love and esteem you so much. My Mother has bore the journey vastly well and is in great spirites, and she has brought me a Compliment from Lady Charlotte, and I am sorry her health would not permit her to come here, as entre nous this life would not have done for her and particularly as she can not speak French. Say something kind to her from me. Every body here never

saw so gracious a Princess as my Mother, and they are all charmed with her.

I ever am, my Dr. Dutchess,

Your most affectionate friend,

AUGUSTA.

ANTOINETTEN RUH *th* 10 *August* 1770.

MY DEAR DUCHESS,

You are much better to me than I deserve. My health is as good as my present situation will admit of. I am very glad that the Queen has spoke for your Sister, and she is not so much against you as I thought. It's all Lady Gower that she accuses of misleading you and Lady Charlotte Edwin. My brother is not with us, but I shall not fail to acquaint him when I see him. The Prince, who is agoing with the King of Prussia to see the Emperor's * Camp, desires his best compliments to you and Lord Lorn, to whom I beg also to be remember'd. Our time is spent in walking, which we can do all day in the woods.

Adieu, my dear Duchess, and believe ever

Your most affectionate friend,

AUGUSTA.

NOTE.—The sister for whom the Queen spoke was the youngest sister of Elizabeth, "Kitty," who had married Mr. Tracy. This lady was also a beauty, and Elizabeth asked that she might be appointed State Housekeeper at Somerset House, a much-coveted post, which Mrs. Gunning, the Duchess of Argyll's mother, had held. She died in 1770. She was the daughter of Colonel Gunning of Castle Coote, Roscommon,

* Emperor Joseph II., died 1790.

Ireland, and of Bridget, daughter of the Earl of Mayo. Lord Gower was one of those who held out for resistance to the American Colonies, although he said in 1780 that with Lord North he had for three years past believed their subjugation to be hopeless. He declined to try to form a Ministry in 1780, and again in 1782.

ANTOINETTEN RUH *th* 30 *of June* 1772.

MY DEAR DUCHESS,

I hope that this letter will find you quite recover'd. Why the Queen did not send I can not imagine, for she wrote me word that you had miscarried, but one must be surprised at nothing but that one can be surprised. Friday I go with three coaches full to the Gorde for a few days. I hear the Queen injoyes her health and that she is very much resigned to her fate, but that when she speaks of her Children she always cries. Ld. Beacham and Mr. Conway are here and intend to stay some time, as they say to learn the Language, but I fancy it is for some other reason. My Compliments to Ldy. Charlotte Edwin. As soon as my Mother's Bust is done she shall have it, at the same time that I send the King his.

I ever am, my dearest Duchess, with the greatest affection, your most sincere friend,

AUGUSTA.

BRONSVIC *th* 1 *of Novbre.* 1772.

MY DEAR DUCHESS,

This will be in all probability the last lettre you will receive from me before I Lying. William * has wrote to me without mentionin his

* Duke of Gloucester, married Lady Waldegrave.

marriage, and I am very much obliged to him for it. I long to know where these Dainty Widows are to be Buried; if it's by Princess Amelia she will make a great noise at the raising from the dead. Pray make my compliments to your Duke and Daughter, and to Lady Charlotte Edwin, and tell her that at last my mother's Bust is finish'd and that she will have it by the next messenger.

I ever am, my dear Duchess,

Your most affectionate friend,

AUGUSTA.

BRONSVIC *th* 1 *of June* 1773.

MY DEAR DUCHESS,

The Physicians wish that I may not be abreeding as my eyes are Still so weak, and as I give up so much to the Hereditary he might I think without loosing of his authority alow me first to get well. But men has no reason, and I have nothing to do but to pray that God will be more merciful then H.S.H.

The Queen writes every post to her brothers, but I have never heard that you had done any thing to offend her. Prince Charles has lost his only son. The King of Prussia * has been for tow days at Langleben. I find him grown very old, tho' he bares fatigue as usual. The Princess of Orange will be here next week in her way to Berlin, where she stays till the end of July. My poor Sister † is still tormented with continued head achs and want of sleep. Mr. Edmondson gose on vastly well.

I ever am, My dear Duchess,

Your most affectionate friend,

AUGUSTA.

* Frederick the Great. † Carolina Matilda of Denmark.

BRONSVIC *th* 13 *of Sep.* **1773.**

MY DEAR DUCHESS,

I am very sorry to find by yours that that sweet creature Ldy. Augusta * has been ill. I feel in my heart for her what I can not discribe. I thought it was hard of William to put my Sister in so disagreable a position that she must offend either the King or him, and he has not wrote since to her tho' she beg'd he would soon as she really loves him preferable to us all. The Queen is ill but the King denys it tho' Hunter and Duncan attends her. Prince Charles is at Strelitz adying. Do you hear nothing of Ldy. Offingham and her Ld.? She has wrote to me from Holmes in Scotland. The Prince joins with me in wishing you every blessing you deserve, being ever, my dear Duchess,

Your most affectionate friend,

AUGUSTA.

BRONSVIC *th* 6 *of June* 1775.

MY DEAR DUCHESS,

Nobody can enter into what I suffer better than yourself, but I am quite resign'd to the will of God; he certainly has his wise reason for what he dose, and tho' it's very painfull to me to see all my familly die before me, it has that good that I wish to be in heaven too, and the soonner the better. May you, my dear, injoye every blessing that I wish you. I ever am, My dear Duchess,

Your most affectionate friend,

AUGUSTA.

My compliments to Ldy. Charlotte Edwin.

* Lady Augusta Campbell, married Colonel Clavering.

BRONSVIC *th* 4 *of June* 1776.

MY DEAR DUCHESS,

How happy I am that it's my brother sooner than the late King that has made you an English Peeress. Your son will be delighted; we have often talked on that subject, and he had it vastly at heart; pray do say something to him when you write about the pleasure it gave me, and also to Lady Charlotte Edwin. Indeed, my dear, I am a very dearest friend who is never angry with a friend; every body is the best judge of his actions, and every body has a right to trust or let it alone, but perticularly if you think the letters are open'd you were still more in the wright not, but be it as it will I love you and ever shall, and never can take any thing ill of you, being ever, My dear Duchess,

Your most affectionate friend,

AUGUSTA.

NOTE.—In 1776 Lady Derby was painted by Romney and also by Sir Joshua Reynolds. She was giving parties constantly, and was being noted with Lord Derby as the most extravagant entertainers of society in London. The King in this year made Elizabeth an English Peeress under the title of Baroness Hamilton of Hambleden. Her husband was also confirmed in the Hereditary Lord-Lieutenancy of Argyllshire. Lord Derby succeeded his father as Lord Lieutenant of Lancashire.

BRONSVIC *th* 26 *of July* 1776.

MY DEAR DUCHESS,

I was at Pirmond when I received your dear letter, and as the postes go so unregularly I defer'd writting for fear my letter might be

lost. The Princes of Meclenbourg were there. The Princess Charles is exceedingly good and has been vastly well brought up; I saw her Mother and her tow younger Sisters, who are indeed very amiable. Prince Ernest looks dreadfully; he did not know that the King had made you an English Peeress, but seam'd to be glad of it; he told me how you was with the Q. and you may believe that everything that makes you happy is a real satisfaction to me. By this time the Duke of Hamilton will be with you; pray tell him that his mother at Bronsvic has often inquired after him and has been overjoied to hear so good an account of him. I pity the young womens that will fix his attention, for his manner is delightly; my girl was in love with him without knowing it, for at that age there is no art, nor do they know why they like. If her father had suspected it he would have made such a noise, and have done more harm than good. I am ever, My dear Duchess,

Your most affectionate Friend,

AUGUSTA.

BRONSVIC *the* 16 *of August* 1782.

DR. DUCHESS,

You had no need to say anything about my sincere attachment to Ldy. Darby; it would have been impossible for me to have done other wise; she is realy very amiable and *prudent, which* is my amazement with her vivacity. She has been admir'd by all and she is realy what Mr. Johnson has put in his verses. Pray make her my compliments and tell her that I believe the *Miss* is on her departure, for *he* is very much out of humour and avoids being

where she is, and even at table she is not placed by him, which was allways. My dear, this is a riddle to you, but Ldy. Darby can explain it to you. P. Fred. was very sorry he missed her; he is grown fat, which makes him like the K., and in his manner it's amazingly so; he loves his *father*, and I cannot love any *child that* dose not love their parent and such a one as the King. I long to hear of you again to know how it gose with your daughter, but by P. Ernest's *conversations* at *Pirmont* I supose the Q. will not see her.

I ever am, my dearest Duchess,

Your most affectionate friend,

AUGUSTA.

NOTE.—This letter shows Queen Charlotte as refusing "to receive" Lady Derby, but other members of the family desirous to meet her. She is about to return to England.

BRONSVIC *th* 25 *of Nov'ber* 1782.

Nothing can make me happier, my dear Duchess, than to hear from you that Ly. Derby is contented; may she ever be so, and she will by her conduct convince the world that she has been ill treat'd. Mr. Bush after incouraging P. F. to flirt with his wife at a publick ball desired him never to come into his House, nor in his wife's box at the Opera. Everything went on the same, so that no one could comprehend why all at one's he was offended. I pity my nephew, for I love him with all my heart, and think Mr. Bush mad; his father died so and himself was very odd when he was in Italie. l'Hypochondrie is the name that they give to

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this illness, but for one that is not acquaint with the turns and windings of the illness must think them mad. I am quite of your opinion that *les Confessions de Rousseau* should never have been printed; it will do a great deal of harm, as all his books have done, and he must have had more vanity than any man to publish'd such nonsense as the years of his childhood, and for Md. de Warens she is the most extraordinary carecter if what Rousseau sais is true, that it was not passion but reasonning that made her live so wicked a life. I begin to believe that everybody does not comprehend the words of the bible, when I hear Mr. Madens system on polagamie; it's above my understanding, and those that *are* of his *opinion* have their privet interest in sustaning such stuff.

P. Fredrich of Hess is reconciled to his father. I will write the hole story from beginning to end, as you know him. He wrote to the Landgrave for leave to come to Cassel and that he would come in the Uniform of Sigen; this letter was never deliver'd, and the Prince did not wait for an answer, but came into the room whilst the Landgrave was adressing and throw himself at his feet; the father that was not apprized thought it it was a mad, for he had not seen him since he was five years old, and run out of the room calling Jungheim, who when he came in saw the Prince in the greatest affliction, on thinking that his father would not acknowledge him. As soon as the Land: was inform'd he receiv'd him with all the affection and tenderness of a father, and now he has a House prepared for him at Cassel and he won't let him a moment out of his sight.

My best Compliments to the Duke of Argyll

and to every one of your children. Next post I shall write to my dear, dear Lady Derby, being ever, my dear Duchess,

Your most affectionate friend,

AUGUSTA.

I have no letter from Ldy. Gower of a long time. The Duke and my children beg You to except of their best compliments.

NOTE.—In 1782 Lady Derby again visited the Duchess of Brunswick, and wrote from Brunswick saying her mother (Elizabeth) had written to her that Lady Derby had many friends, and adds: "The Duchess of Brunswick has written to His Majesty [her brother, George III.] on my subject, and I am to carry the letter. She advises me to get a letter from the Queen's Brother at Hanover, and the Bishop [Duke of York, Bishop of Osnaburg] for Her Majesty, which I shall do." This was in July. Among the first who were kind to Lady Derby was the champion of George III.'s sister, Carolina Matilda, namely Lord Keith. Lady Derby also paid a visit to Vienna before going back to England. When she did return she made the Duke of Argyll's house her home. He had always been most kind to her. The Prince of Wales exerted himself in vain to persuade Queen Charlotte to receive her. "Not till Lord Derby takes her back," was all the Queen would say.

BRONSVIC *the* 17 *of January* 1783.

DR. DUCHESS,

I hope you will have reason to be satisfied with Ly. Pembrocke. I do not love her because I know she is very meddling, at least twenty years ago, but experience may have learn'd her

that it's not worth while to intrigue. I have sent by Generale Faucitt Ldy. Derby Shades made in our chaina, directed to Ldy. Gower, as I know she would be glad to have one, for her affection to you and yours is allways the same. We have every week a Masquarade, but I do not go; first, I hate them, and have hated them these 15 years, and it's nothing but duty that obliges me on great occasion to show my ugly face there. We are in hourly expectation of The Prince and Princess of Mecklenbourg and the Bishop of Osnabruck, who is to meet them here, and will tell me a great deal of my familly, who have been very gracious to them at Windsor. Mr. de Bush is to return to Hanover at the end of Feb'y. If I have not wrote you all that history is either to Ly. Derby or Ldy. Gower, who can explain it to you. I am agoing to lose one of my ladies, which makes me very low spirited; death make a wonderfull effect upone us, and having allready lost so meany dear, dear friend, that now there remains but to wish myself with them. My compliments to the Duke of Argyll and Ldy. Augusta, being as long as I live

Your most affectionate friend,

AUGUSTA.

NOTE.—Lady Pembroke was the lady whom long afterwards King George III., when he was ill, imagined that he had married. He took a glass of wine and water, when he fancied himself with the servants only, and drank to the health of "*conjugia mea dilectissima Elizabethia*"—meaning Lady Pembroke. This was one of the signs that the physicians noted as indicating insanity.

BRONSVIC *the* 14 *of March* 1783.

DR. DUCHESS,

I am glad all gose so well. Ldy. Derby is so sensible that she feels the necessity of being exceeding prudent, and will I hope continue so. Pray tel her how happy it makes me to find that she keep her good resolution of being very circumspect in her conduct; it's the best way of punishing her enemies. As her Majesty is invisible you are not in favour this *winter*, which will give you more time for being with your familly. We *go on here the same*. The Duke is gone this morning to Halberstadt for a few days; if he knew that I wrote he would certainly beg to be remembered to *you* and *yours*. I wish also to be rappelle au souvenir du Duc and the young Ladies. Ldy. Gower has not wrote to me of a long time. I hope what I have heard of Ldy. Waldgrave is not *true*; it makes me shudder to think of it. The P. of W. is very wild; all I care about is to know if he as a good heart, and if he loves his father: these pointes are essential in his caracter; for the rest, time will correct him. The poor K.* is tormented to death. What an end all this will have God knows, but it makes us appear very ridiculous to all Europe. I ever am, my dear Duchess,

Your most affectionate friend,

AUGUSTA.

BRONSVIC *th* 3 *of Oct.* 1783.

DEAR DUCHESS,

Mr. Cooper has been in affray here, which has ended in expelling Mr. Cary, which had had the same fate at School. When you see Sir

* George III.

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Grey Cooper do desire him to preach to his son to conform to the rules of the Acadamie. The boys are all Officers and will not be treated like children. I hear that there has been at Eaton a rebelion. I shall be obliged to say that, in my younger days, England was quite otherwise, but the present generation is as bad as in France or Berlin. Ge'l Boy'd is at Potsdam, where he has been very graciously received. The old King will be the last that will be drawn in to the War, tho' France have made him proposals. I am very glad that Ldy. Augusta is better. My children have the Hooping-Cough. The King of Sweden is going to Italie, and I tremble as he must pass so near that we shall see him. The D. of Bronsvic hates him on her sister's account, and she can not conquer herself enough to be civill to him.

I ever am, my dear Duchess,

Your most affectionate friend,

AUGUSTA.

I beg to be remember'd to the Duke of Argyll and to Ldy. Derby and Augusta.

BRONSVIC *the* 31 *of Jan*y 1786.

Dr Dutchess, we have had tell now such a mild winter that I hope you will have no occasion to go for your health on the continent. Your new house is charming, I hear, large, well furnish'd, & comfortable—with an exceeding good garden, Conservatory, & hot house. Lord, that I never forget the tenth commandement; we have no such comforts of this side the water. We have hear'd that M. F.* is at Carlton house with Child,

* Mrs. FitzHerbert.

& that there is to be a Clandestine marriage. How can that be with a romain Catholic? what a piece of work! over turning the constitution; but I hope it's not true, no more then the Queen illness, which they say is in a decay. The Duke of York has had a fever, which this year has been fatal to 45 persons that have died here. I never have been so well a winter in Germany as this, & the best part of the winter is over, so I hope to escape my rheumatisms.

I wish that you would tell L^d^ & L^dy^ Southampton, that Mr Fitzroye behaves quite well now, that he was for the Queen's birth day at Hanover with G^ll^ Rudesl, were he never left the G^ll^ a moment, except at the court ball, which lasted tell three a Clock in the morning. Tell him we all love his son for his good affectionate heart & his attachement to his parens. We have an acquaintance of yours here, a very prudent young man, a Mr Cample, [who] had the honor of seeing you last summer at Inverery, & my dear L^dy^ Derby: I inquire after her with the anxiety of a mother; may she continue as she dose, for she is a wonder of prudence now. Every blessing attend you & yours, being ever yours most sincerly & affectionately, my dear Dutchess,

Your faithful friend,

AUGUSTA.

July
BRONSVIC *y^e^* 17th 1786.

Dr Dutchess, we have a young [man] here who had the same complaint as L^dy^ Derby & by bathing at Keymberg is quite recover'd, tho' he had frequent relapses before he could get rid intierly of it. The three youngest Princes were but six days coming from London to Hanover;

G^ll Grenville attended them. My son is return'd from Lausanne in perfect health & spirits, not grown taller, which I would have wish'd, but I am so thankful to providence for having him as he is, the best disposed young man I know: his heart is good, his morals pure, no sort of vice, a dutiful & affectionate son and brother; he has gain'd knowledge, & a very easy address, speaks with great facility french, much better than we do, which is a great recommendation in Germany; he loves to imploy his time, & his father intends that he should be inform'd of all our interior concerns, & none can teach him better then his father, who is his own Secretary. Our economy is in great order; in some years we shall be quite out of debt. The Duke is his son's Steward, & Charles can never be to thankfull for finding Bronsvic allmost out of debt. I hope you are well, my dear, & those that belong to you; allways hoping that you remember me to them, without formaly naming them all, I remain most sincerely

Your affectionate friend,

AUGUSTA.

BRONSVIC *Sep.* 7 1786.

Heaven knows, my dear Dutchess, how your letter of the fourth of August comes in the Berlin paquet, & not tell yesterday from Berlin. The news papers are full of the King of Prussia's death, & his will you will have seen; some perticuliars may pass unknown to you, which makes me mention them, as they do honour to the memory of the late King. He left a letter for his present majesty recommending the Queen Dowager in the most flattering terms;

he has left her ten thousand Crowns a year beyond her jointure & all her debts to be pay'd. I own I did Not think he was capable of esteeming any body, or that he was just enought to allow any body merite, that he had so shamfully treated his hole life. In short his conscience at last must have told him, that the world would expect some reparation from him, & may be that he hoped it might be a means of being forgiven, which we must wish more than believe. This King of Prussia has religion; he seldom fails going to Church, & he has order'd his Clergy not to preach on to abstract subjects, which dose only puzzel, & is of no good: for we are strange creatures in this part of the world; every one will philosophise tell he believes nothing; religion is made a part of polite conversation, who shall propose Singular Ideas. Ld Lorne and any other of your Children will ever be exceptible to her that never fails to subscribe her self, my dear Dutchess,

Your most affectionate friend,

AUGUSTA.

My best compliments to the Duke & all the younger part of the familly.

BRONSVIC *March y^e^* 27th 1787.

MY DEAR DUTCHESS,

How can I sufficiently thank you for the kind manner in which you express yourself to me on the affliction I have. The only comfort I have is in my daughter's good conduct, but it dose not prevent my feeling her unhappy situation. The Emperesses partiallity to Augusta, her intention of Civillity to us, all this is but palliatives & a great protection for us, but but poor

Auguste has a good heart & the loss of her children is irreparable. L^dy^ Derby's health is surly very bad; may she get the better of her low spirits; I pity her very much. I received last week a letter from Docter Moore * with a print of Prince Leopold; may I beg of you to thank him in my name. As he sent me his direction I would not appear ill bread, but writting is a terrible thing, and those sort of letters to Authors are above my capacity. My Compliments to the Duke of Argyll & L^dy^ Augusta. I remain, dear Dutchess,

Your most affectionate friend,

AUGUSTA.

My third son has a commission in the Hannover Service, which makes him very happy.

BRONSVIC *June y^e^* 20 1787.

MY DEAR DUTCHESS,

The whole of the K.'s Conduct with regard to his son has done him great honor, and I should hope that the P.'s gratitude can only end with his life. Ld Lorne should be here for the fair or he will have no amusement here; every body is out of Town. Mr. Saussure I fancy was here some years ago with tow Mr Campelles, or with Ld Bruce; I supose he is a great favorite of yours & the Dukes. The Duke begs his respects to you; he was so partial to the Duke of Hamilton & L^dy^ Derby that he makes himself believe that Ld Lorne is like them, being your Child & the Duke of Argyll. You do not advance to much in having no doubt of our showing him all the politeness imaginable.

* Father of Sir John Moore, who was killed commanding at Corunna.

Pray tell Lady Derby that I am glad the Bath waters has done her good. We have mr Rice & Ld Gray since the reviews of Berlin. The Duke of York is over joyed at going to England; his amours at Hanover are finished & she is miserable lying. I ever am, my dear Dutchess,

Your most affectionate friend,

AUGUSTA.

BRONSVIC *the* 28 *of Oct.* 1789.

You are very kind, dear Duchess. My spirits are up again with the hope of marrying my daughter; she was the only thing that used to hurt me, as example is catching, and also I fear'd that our manner of life would friten young men from wishing a nearer conection with us; but providence is too just to punish me for others' faults, and I am the happyest creature in the world to know Caroline * settled before my death. All my wishes have been for these twenty years for them that they might turn out well, for I looked on my self as a Widow, for the Duke dose not care about them, nor do the children love him as a parent; those that are handsome he flatters, which has vex'd me, as it cost me much more trouble to keep them in order; and Caroline knew exactly how to humour him, which would have been her ruine if she had remain'd longer with us. My best compliments to the Duke, Ly. Derby, and Ldy. Augusta.

I ever am, my dear Duchess,

Your most affectionate friend,

AUGUSTA.

* Caroline, who made the unfortunate marriage with her cousin, the Prince Regent of England.

AUGUSTA, DUCHESS OF BRUNSWICK

p. 260]

COUNT VIRY

Extract of a Letter from Turin.

The 28th November, 1777.

You desire to be informed of the cause of Count Viry's disgrace. I shall therefore communicate to you what has come to my knowledge on that subject.

The distinguished reputation that Gentleman has enjoied for some years as a Member of the Diplomatick Body, having personally resided in Holland, England, Spain, and France, has made his present fall and disgrace a matter of publick Curiosity. Facts are too recent, and too much connected with present times, to have yet transpired. Some little is known, but the most material I apprehend is still kept under the Veil of Secrecy, unless this is the Case. Count Viry, who has hitherto passed for a Man of Sense and Understanding, has in the present instance acted in weakest and most absurd manner possible. The justness of this reflexion will perhaps strike you in the Course of what I am going to communicate to you, which I will do as briefly as I can.

Upon the Accession of the present Sovereign to the throne of Sardinia, the old Ministry, that is, Count Bogino, the late King's principal Favourite, who had the War Department, and Count Lasearis, who had the Foreign Department,

were dismissed. The former has not yet been replaced; the latter was given to the Marquis d'Aigblanche, of the Family of St. Thomas, a Gentleman who was in possession of the friendship and esteem of his Master and who was looked upon as the person who would enjoy the royal ear and confidence. This Minister unfortunately pitched upon a Man for his official Secretary and Confident, who seems to have betrayed everything and everybody whom he has been connected with. His name is Vuy, by profession an *Avocat*; and as in the late political Drama of this Country he has played the principal part, it will not be amiss to bring you acquainted with him. He is a man of low birth and education, but must have possessed some talents which have enabled him to make so distinguished a figure. He was placed in the Office by some of the Viry family—and this circumstance seems to have engaged Ct. Viry to place a foolish and unlimited confidence in him, as will appear in the sequel.

This Wretch made Under Secretary of State was actuated by two prevailing passions, the desire of Riches and the thirst after power. To satisfy the former he made no scruple to pilfer and plunder every body who fell into his hands in an official way, and made use of the same guilty practices in every department where his influence could prevail. In short, such abuses were plainly perceived in these kind of Matters, that it was very evident that a Rogue was at the bottom of them. His own dissolute and expensive Manner of living, so much beyond his income or his means, added to some points which were already proved against him, drew upon him

such suspicion, that it was determined to take such measures as should clear up matters beyond the possibility of a doubt. For this purpose all his papers and Effects were seized, and he himself was dismissed, arrested, and put into close confinement. But before I go any farther I must remark that it had long before been observed that there was a kind of coolness between the Marquis d'Aigblanche and the Viry Party which seemed to tend to an open Rupture.

Accordingly soon after the Imprisonment of Vuy (which happened in the month of February of the present year) Ct. Viry was suddenly recalled from Paris; these two circumstances arriving much about the same time seemed to imply other motives and causes than those assigned above. When Vuy's papers were examined, amongst others were found *336* letters of Viry's own hand writing, the greatest part of which were in cypher. What these letters contain is known I believe to very few people, and I can only inform you of the effects they produced. Viry was recalled. When he left France, it was observed he did not make a Courtier's haste to come to Turin; at last, however, he crossed the Alps, but when he arrived at Susa, he received a message from the Governor, to wait till further orders. He was there informed of his connexion and secret correspondence with Vuy (which by the by he denied till his own letters were shewn to him), that he could not be ignorant of the contents of them and must know the consequences they might produce; but that his Sn. Majesty would not proceed to extremities, nor leave him one moment in suspence, but ordered him to retire to his Country seat. To this moderate sentence

was added the following Message, that if he (Mr. Viry) thought himself unjustly treated or his character injured by the present proceedings the Courts of Justice were open to him for redress, but that if he choose a Tryal he must begin by surrendering himself a Prisoner in the Fortress of the Brunetta; but he was given to understand at the same time that the result of the Trial, whatever it was, should be decisive, and infallibly put in execution. Viry, then, made his confession and acknowledged the mercy and Clemency of his Sovereign, *et voilà où nous en sommes à présent.* It has since appeared that Viry in these letters had abused and vilified almost every body in this Country; his King and Queen, the Prince and Princess of Piemont, and most of the Royal Family, as well as many other respectable Persons, have been the object of his ridicule and Contempt. His direct attack was upon the Marquis d'Aigblanche. His secret and illegal correspondence with Vuy is the only serious article of accusation against him, because it cannot be justified. His attack upon the Ministry may be placed to the score Ambition; nay, even his disrespect to the King of Sardinia might have at first piqued the Individual, but would ultimately have been treated with the contempt it deserves. The firm and resolute Manner in which the alternative of a Trial was proposed to him, appears to me to imply offences or intentions at least of a much more important Nature than a cabal against a Minister, a secret and perhaps not authorized correspondence with a Secretary of State, or finally an illiberal abuse against persons however dignified, which might proceed from a temper naturally . . .

Mr. G. Crossener to Mrs. Grenville.

MADAM,

I have deferred writing till I had something to impart that merited your attention. As I learnt by what you said at Spa you were curious to know what had brought on the disgrace of Count Viry, I begged a Friend I have at that Court to inform me of it, and above is the answer to my letter: it contains some little circumstances that probably may not have reached you; if so, I shall be very happy in having amused or instructed you. The unexpected death of the late Elector of Bavaria has opened a scene that I fear will terminate in bloodshed, misery, distress, and the ruin of thousands of Familys. It's generally said the Court of Vienna have great and good Pretensions on the Upper Palatinate, being a Fief of Bohemia that returns on the death of the late Elector of Bavaria, but this is denied by the Elector Palatine. Time only can discover the Sentiments of France and Prussia. I hardly think the former will chuse to see such an augmentation of Power in the House of Austria, their old Rival, as it brings them so much nearer the Rhine, and may incite views on Lorrain, which State the Emperor has much at heart. It's certain it's not the Interest of the King of Prussia to allow this aggrandisement in his Enemy. It must be considered whether the present Elector may not think it his Interest to purchase the sustain and assistance of the King of Prussia by some sacrifice that may tempt Him to oppose the Court of Vienna if they incline to prefer the new Cannon Law to the decision of the Diet of Ratisbonne. As yet we are quite in the dark, but in 15 days I believe

the Scene will begin to open. Thus much for Politicks.

I have enjoyed better health this winter than for many years past; I impute it to my staying longer at Spa than usual, and having washed my kidneys better. For 15 days past I have been confined to my House by a Cold and Cough, but yesterday I went to Court. My Daughter is quite well; she desires me to make her best Compliments to you, Madam, Mr. & Miss Grenville; pray add mine, and accept mes hommages. I hope the air of Bath agrees with you, and all the Family, and that your House continues to please. You live (if you please) in a continual round of pleasure except in the Summer. I should enjoy to hear that interval would be filled up by a jaunt to Spa, but the things I most wish seldom arrive, so I durst not flatter myself with that happiness. Be you where you will, I assure you, Madam, my best wishes for your Health, Peace, Prosperity, and that of all your Family will ever attend you. Do me the justice to believe this truth, as well as the great Respect and Esteem with which I have the Honour to be, Madam,

Your most Faithfull, most Devoted
and most Humble Servant,
G. Crossener.

Bonn,
12*th January*, 1778.

ELIZABETH, COUNTESS OF DERBY

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LETTERS OF LADY DERBY, 1778–82

LADY SARAH LENNOX wrote to Lady Susan O'Brien in February 1779: "It is no scandal to tell you it is imagined the Duke of Dorset will marry Lady Derby, who is now in the country keeping quiet and out of the way. There is a sort of party in town of who is to visit her and who is not, which makes great squabbles, as if the curse or blessing of the poor woman depended on a few tickets [cards of invitation] more or less. . . . I am told she has been and is still most thoroughly attached to the Duke of Dorset, and if so I should suppose she will be very happy, if the lessening of her visiting list is the only misfortune; and what with giving up her children, sorrow for a fault, dread of not preserving his affection, I think she is much to be pitied."

Lady Derby to her Mother.

[SPA, 21*st August*, 1778?]

Poll Cook is here—and I know has said everything you can imagine disrespectful and shocking of me. To Lady Morton, upon her asking her why she did not visit me, she even said she was sure nobody of Character and reputation would visit me, an evil speech to Lady Morton by the bye. Ly. M: assured her on the contrary every [one] did, and that my behaviour was not

to be found fault with, and that all ranks and all nations paid me the attention and respect due to me. So last night at the rooms, where you see I am well enough to go though still weak, I went up and spoke to the Dss. of Chandos on one side of her and to Me. de Wallmoden, who is here for a few days, on the other, upon which she deigned to cortesy to me and to say she was glad to see me so much better. I hope my conduct will continue to be such that her sayings will have no effect on anybody. There is, however, a great dinner at the Dss. of Chandos. where she, the Villiers's, and Lady Grandisson dine. I was not ask'd, probably owing to her, I shall not mind that, but go on paying a little attention to Her *Grace*. She has been to see me twice very civily, but I think since that Poll, who begun by abusing and laughing at her, has got her ear, and I suppose has said many unpleasant things on my account. The Bridgeman's are very civil and have invited me to some musick there, to-morrow, but I shall first go and make a visit to the Dss. of C. to show I am not *mortally* affronted at not being ask'd with the Villiers. As I am so lately recover'd it may not be intended as a rudeness, and therefore I shall certainly not suppose Poll has had influence enough to make her intend as such, particularly as she was very polite in the rooms. To the Grandisson's she has never open'd her lips disrespectfully about me.

I think I have abused Poll enough. Everybody else is civil and kind to me; I need not trouble my Head and Yours about her. As I am better I shall begin to-morrow dining as usual with the O's, tho' it is a bore, on purpose to plague Lady M: I hope it may drive her from Spa.

I don't think it is worth while taking any notice of her behaviour, for tho' I know she has abused, she does not suppose I do, and she is I dare [say] satisfied she has done quite enough in doing me the honor of speaking in the rooms. *N'en parlons plus, elle m'ennuye.* She is, I dare say, *piqué* at all the civility Prince Henry has shown me. We do not admire his Niece; she is dry and cold; they say it is owing to shyness. Whatever it is, the graciousness of the Arch Dss. is very striking when one has seen them both. They also say the Princess of Orrange is afraid of showing civility to the English, as the Dutch are very jealous and violent about their being of the English side. Her Daughter is a fine girl, much more manner than her mother, speaks English and I dare say expects to be transplanted *chez nous.* She resembles much our Royal Family.

I made me visit to the Chandos's; they began talking of my Children. Ly: M: C: was there; spoke of E'd. as she always did, with great admiration; in short from my being still very weak the Conversation overcame me. The Dss. meant it kindly, but she insisted upon my returning to Ed. I told as well as I could if it was in my power I should most undoubtedly. I was obliged to go into the next room to recover. Ly. M: C: gave me Salts and was civil in spight of her teeth. When in the next room the Dss. came, and repeatedly beg'd at all events I would return to Ed. She would talk on, she meant she said as my Friend, beg'd I would write to Ld. D. to desire His leave to live in Scotland the other year that I had made the promise of staying abroad. I assured her I was afraid my writing in that

style after a promise made to Him, he would not approve of; in short I thank'd her for her kindness. She said the Duke would do anything I pleased about it, but I fear I dare do nothing of the kind, and she will abuse me for not following her advice. Certainly the best and only thing I can do is to stay the time he wish'd, and be as careful as I can of my conduct.

Adieu, my Dear Mama, I continue better. If you set out as you intended on the 16th this will not reach you till you get to your Journey's end. Hope you will make it out without much fatigue and that you received a Letter from me before you set out, that you might have no anxiety on my account. Mrs. Campbell has bore the loss of her good Mother really very sensibly. She was at first very much shocked, and regretted her absence from her. A little reflection show'd her she could have been of no use at Roseneath, and to me she certainly has been of very great. Her attention and care of me while I was Ill, I shall never forget. And Poor little Peggy, she Poor thing has now got the disorder herself, but not in the violent way I had it. As yet Mrs. C. has escaped. It could not be the effect of the waters, for they have always the Contrary, and of fruit I had eat very little. I hear it rages much more violently in several other Towns. It is certainly in the Air; almost every body here have the disorder or have had it. My turn, thank God, is happily over. Congleton assures me from the quantity of Bile which gave me the Pain in my side that it was upon the whole to me lucky, as it certainly saved me a Putrid Fiever. Adieu, my Dr. Mama. I shall long to hear from you

from Inverary. My love to the Duke—and my Brother and Sisters.

Yr. Aff't. & Dl. Dau:

E. DERBY.

SPA, 21*st August.*

Lady Derby to Lady Gower.

SPA, 25*th August*, 1778.

I am sure you will be glad to hear I am getting rid of this horrid disorder, which I had more violently than anybody at Spa and has left me very weak. I luckily have met here with the same Physician who passed the winter at Nice, and who is generally here in the summer —a Scotchman by name Congleton. Had I been in the hands of foreigners I should have given myself up. Poor Mrs Hervey, who was Miss March, lost a child. She, her Husband, and 2 other sons went to a place about 4 Leagues off by way of change of scene—there he was taken ill—had advice from Liège—was ill treated and in 4 days died. They say all his fortune from gambling was annuities upon his life—so consider her horrid situation. They seemed to live entirely for each other. This place goes on with all its usual gayeties. They never stop for private misfortunes. Lady Bridgeman is also very ill; the Daughters are very fine girls, and they all live so happily together that it w^d^ be a most melancholy thing if she should not recover.

They say the disorder from which I have suffered came first to people at the foot of Mont Cenis, and in small villages has been very fatal. It has travelled along the banks

of the Rhyne, and then spread itself all over this country. At Mastricht it is very fatal. At Aix-la-Chapelle and at Cleves much more than here, for only some of the common people immediately in the Town of Spa have died.

You know that Mama [Duchess of Hamilton and Argyll] has decided that I should pass the winter at Vienna. Coming Home, you may believe, is what I should like best, mais elle ne se peut pas till next summer, so that I leave this if I can about the middle of September. I hope the Sea will prevent this Plague from reaching England. I saw Miss Lloyd. She need not regret not having seen the Pss. of Orange. Elle n'est pas gracieuse comme l'Arch-Duchess. She is stiff and awkward; they say an excellent woman in private life—but I think an ungracious Princess. Her Daughter, who it is said means to be Queen of England, has much more air and manner than her mother. She speaks English very tolerably and is very like our own Royal Family. P. Cook [Polly Coke, daughter of Duke of Argyll and Greenwich] has been here for a few days—tried to set people by the ears, and then went off in great wrath because Prince Henry was not as civil to her as to people whom he had been acquainted with from the time he came first here.

Lady Derby to Lady Gower.

BELLEVUE, *Aug.* 8, 1780.

MY DEAREST LADY GOWER,

After a very long journey I am at last settled for some time in a very pleasant House near Lausanne. I staid some days at Spa, which I expected to find much more agreeable

than I did. The company when I arrived there were chiefly composed of all the gamesters of England, France, Germany, etc.; but a few days before I left a number of French women of Fashion came to meet the King of Sweden, who was at that time at Aix-la-Chapelle. They almost prevailed upon me to stay the season there and go in the Winter to Paris, but as I knew I was expected here with impatience—perhaps you think me very conceited for saying this—I resisted the invitation of M. Barfleur de la Mark, de Coigni, etc.; and as it would have been silly to be so near the King and not to have seen him, I went to Aix-la-Chapelle—went to the Rooms on purpose to see him, and there was foolish enough to take an English shyness, and because he stared at me as une Anglaise I hardly dare look at him. What his countenance [was] I do not know, but his figure is, I am sure, pas celui qui donnerai l'idée d'un grand Roi—short and rather mean. I was satisfied, and continued my journey through a most beautiful country. . . .

Affe^ly^ yours,
E. Derby.

Lady Derby to "The Countess Gower, Whitehall, London."

Vienna, *Nov.* 12.

You need not, my dear Lady Gower, be under the least apprehension about the safety of your letter. I wrote at the same time to Mrs Trevor and to the Banker to forward my letters from Howick [?] to Vienna, and that letter is at present in my custody with many others. I thank you for giving me so explicitly your

opinion. I shall write to thank *her* * by Lord Morton and Mr. Livingston. She has invited me, and in a letter to my Mother the Princess has expressed a wish that I should be at Brunswick when she is, in June; and if in her answer, or there, she repeats her invitation, I shall go to her Court, though not for long—not on account of the Dutchess which she mentions, but for the Cabal's jealousy and intrigues, which from what you say, and the little I have seen of the small German Courts always . . . Here I have been three days, and I am received by everybody already as if I had been years amongst them—I never saw so much bonhomie anywhere as there is here towards the English. Sir Robert Keith has every possible attention.

Madame de Wallmoden presents every where, and is the best sort of woman possible, and her Husband appears to be a very worthy man. They live very comfortably—very fond of their children—you must remember them in England. They are exact as to visits, but otherwise I see nothing among the people of Vienna but what you meet among all well-bred people. Prince Kownitz is ridiculously particular about sweet Powder and Pomatum. I dine there today, and have sent for all the stinks possible—cette attention me coute fort peu—he is very civil like all the rest. In short I think I shall like Vienna. The life seems to me to be exactly London in a narrower circle—fully as much to do. They say the Emperor's Fêtes are to be magnificent. He gives among others a Mask'd Ball and Supper to 2000 People—this is not a story. All the Nobility are to be in different Dresses in sets, and each to have a dance, all to

* Duchess of Brunswick.

amuse the Russian Prince. The Grand Duchess' Father and Mother are already come—and a young sister whom they wish much here should please the Emperor, though she is promised to his nephew, the Duke of Tuscany's son. However most of them agree qu'il est difficile de toucher le cœur de l'Empereur. I have been in company with His Majesty once since I came, and might every night, as he almost constantly goes to Me de Berzen, where he comes sans être annoncé, and sits and converses without any constraint and like any other gentleman. There is no other presentation for the Women to him than in Society's to any other person—and came up to me and was as easy and polite as at Spa—I saw no differences. So much for Vienna. The Ball Masqué last night in honor of the Wurtembergs was like masked Balls in London, stupid enough—at least I thought so.

I am sure your House must be jolly and comfortable since you have the addition of the Lady Murrays, for they are so lively and good humoured. Pray give them my compliments. I am delighted with what I hear from everybody as well as you of Lady Carlisle's pleasing so much in I^d^ [Ireland]. There was no doubt of it if she got the better of her natural shyness—and I am very happy to find her health is not hurt, though she has gone through many uneasy moments since she has been in I^d^. Her being in such beauty is a proof of her being well. I love her, I assure you, very much. I had the kindest letter from her the other day, and was glad to find Lady Caroline was well, and that she was happy and easy about them—she rather dreads the Winter, and I do not wonder at it. It will be an amazing comfort to Lady

Caroline to have her sister. I rejoice at Lady Anne and Lord Trent [Lord Trentham] being safely arrived, for it is not the safest passage in the world. I must now go and dress for Prince Kow: Dinner, so adieu. I forgot to tell you that one of the sets of Dancers (I mean la Noblesse) at the Emperor's Ball have invited me—et je suis du nombre des guerriers. Compliments to your Caro Sposo, and Believe me ever affec^ly and sincerely,

E. D.

Ld D. cannot be in much worse hands.

I think a proof of their influence is His not writing.

[He never did write to her, and burnt the picture he had of her at Knowsley.]

Lady Derby to her Mother.

VIENNA, 18*th Dr.* [1781 ?].

What is the occasion, my Dear Mama, that I never hear from you or Augusta ? I pester you eternally with Letters, and since those Letters which came to me from Munich and one directed to me here, which I received the first week I was here, and the last date of which was, I think, the 23rd of Octr, I have not had the scrape of a Penn from any of the family. I have as constantly written to the Dss. of Hamilton, and it is nearly as long since I have heard from her. There has, I know, been a Packet missing, which may be the reason you may not have received all those Letters I have sent from here, but some surely must have arrived safe, particularly as they have always gone in Sr. Rt. K.'s Packet. He also wonders he had not heard from any of

my Friends upon my coming here or soon after. I have before mentioned this to beg you will be good enough to thank Him for the kindness he shows me, and if it is not tormenting you too much a line to Me de Wallmoden to the same effect would I know please them very much, and you have no Idea of how much use they are to me, not only from the necessary Ceremonies, but how comfortable I am with them, and she is so obliging as to let me go always to the Play with her, which is very kind and agreable. She is a very pleasant woman, much liked and esteemed here. He is so like His Cousin, so hearty—and so good Humour'd. I like them of all things, and I know they say to others all sorts of fine and good things of me.

I have no intimacy with any body but her. I see all the world and live with them every day from two o'clock till twelve at night—which is rather a worry. Now and then, however, we have two or three days together. We dine at home, then there is rest till six or half past. I had resolved to give up whist and all cards, but I find it a necessary evil. Therefore at the assembly's and after the great dinners I am set down with the Prince of Pau and some other old beau's for an hour or an hour and a half.

19*th.*—Last night I was at a great Ball at the Pallace—all very polite. I had the honor to be invited to the Er.'s table at supper—with all the Russian and Wirtembourg Court—The G.D: and Dss.—the D. & Dss. Of Wirt: the young Princess of Wir: who is to be married to the Em: nephew—and who they say pay's some Court to the Em: the young Prince of Wir: Prince George of Mecklenbourg (who begs his

best Compts. to you)—the Princess Lichtenstein, whom I knew at Spa—the Spanish Ambassador —nothing but an Ambassador sups at the E:rs table, so Keith could not (he says we are too high and too low to have any place—as Plenipo:) —a Russian Prince Kouratin—three Russian Ladies, and one Wirtembourg Lady composed the whole Company. I was placed between father and Son Wirt: the E: was very gracious.

I wish our Princess was here. She can never marry a more amiable Prince, if the point of Religion could be settled. His notions are farr from strict, since he is very fast reducing the Monasteries both of men and women. M: C: desires me say from her that I Looked better than any of them. This is, you may believe, not my own opinion. She desires to be kindly remembered. I must send my Letter—so adieu . . . *Leb-wohl*—Meine Liebste Mutter.

Lady Derby to her Mother.

January ye 1st, VIENNA, 1782.

MY DR. MAMA,

This is a new year: allow me, *du fond de mon Cœur*, to wish this and every following may prove happier to you than the last—that your Health may be good and that your wishes may succeed in every thing. My sister's Health is, I hope, quite returned, tho' I am not at me ease about Augusta, and I shall be very impatient till I hear again from you. You say she was only the day before out of danger; judge then if I can be entirely without fear, and we are at such a horrid distance that when those one loves are Ill it appears ten times further. And poor little Charlotte—you did not say what had been

the matter with her—in what anxiety you have been in. I have my fears that you may also get that horrid fever—but I will not begin the year with unpleasant thoughts. Now you are in town I flatter myself our Letters will go more regularly. As you did not, my Dear Mama, receive my Letters from Frankfurd, Dresden, & Prague, it is no wonder you could not till now write the very kind Letter which S^r R^t has received from you on my account. You see, however, I was not entirely to Blame, for from those places I wrote very distinctly. S^r R^t was yesterday so good as to give me your Letter. Thank you a thousand times for the many affectionate expressions for me in it. He desired me to return it that he might answer, which I shall do to-night.

I am just returned from Court, where we all went to make our Curtesy's to the E.; he put me, I own, a little out of Humour this M.—spoke to Me. de Wallmoden close by me very kindly, but only made me a gracious *bow*. There is a ball at Court to-night; if he is still silent I shall be thoroughly affronted. He was all over Diamonds. His M^y after having spoke to a few Ladies went into the room where he was to dine—we followed Him. His Brother the ArchD: was with Him at dinner. The E. never broke bread—the other did. The service of gold Plate was magnificent, and the show of the Lady's all standing round very fine. He bowed again to us and I believe said something of me to Sr R^t K. The G: d: and Dss. set out for Venice on the 3rd.

To-morrow I dine at General Lacy's, and the day following at the Cardinal's. Do you know the story is—and it is a fact—that the Pope

has sent to say to the E. "that he wished to come and talk to Him upon *certain subjects*, and *Malgré les infirmités de son âge et les dépaquemens d'un si long voyage il partiroit instamment si cela faisoit plaisir à sa Majesté*"? The answer to the Nuncio was, that "*he* would be very happy to receive His *popeship*, *mais que cela ne changeroit rien à ces arrangements*." So determined an answer we suppose will prevent the journey. The nuns that have taken vows must remain, but no more can be made. This is the Pope's real errant, *mais il n'y gagneroit rien*. I am very happy to hear my B: is so fond of E: You have not told me what you think of her. Eward & Char:'s being well is great satisfaction to me. I hope you will see them soon, after you wrote. Give my love to the poor infants, and to sister Char.—and little Johnny. When Augusta is well and has time I hope to hear from her. Pray assure her of my affectionate love.

Prince George desired to present His respects to you, and he gave me a long message from Prince Ernest, saying fine things and how much he envied His Brother having it in His power to see Lady D. every day, with Cts. and hopes of seeing me at Han: &c.

I have, as you advised me, wrote to the Princess of Brunswick—as yet have no answer. I told S^r R^t, indeed he forwarded the Letter, and mentioned my intention originally of going to Berlin—to which he greatly advised me against at this time. Prince Hen: says he is charming, but *au fond* he is french—and His Brother hates the English—but it must now probably depend upon the Dss. of B: but, added he, I had rather you went to Bruns: without going to Berlin.

This will also accomodate me better as I shall stay longer *dans ces environs*, and it will greatly shorten my journey than if I mount up by Ber: besides being too near Strelits to be able to avoid going there without a rudeness.

I mention all this that you may Know the reasons for and against and at Yr. leisure give Yr. opinion and advice. A thousand things that can not be wrote at the distance we are at may oblige me to make some alterations in my Plans, but at present my wish is to remain here or in Bavaria till the middle of June on account of Finances, &c.

I hope Ld. F. H: may get the place, for I believe he wants something very much. Miss Campbell desires her best love and Cts. Pray remember me to the D: if he is in town and to my Dear George.

Adieu, my Dear Mama, believe me always
most affectly Yrs.,
E. D.

Lady Derby to her Mother.

VIENNA, 29*th Jy.*, 1782.

MY DEAR MAMA,

The day before yesterday I received your Letter dated the 7th, dated from Down place. There is a certain 2 shillings which altho' the Letters are directed to Sr R^t K. is necessary, and which is probably the occasion of the Letters not arriving to their destination. I can conceive no other reason. I am happy Augusta was so soon able to do so much, for I know nothing so trying to a person that is in the least weak as a *Jour de Gala* at St. Jam: but good-will *fait*

tout. It is indeed very unfair of my Brother to be out of humour. That is a case where *wishing* will not do, or I am sure she would have a dozen. He is very fond of E: how he would adore a Child of His own, it is a great pity. I am sure you are glad at Lady C. having produced a little Irishman. I hear she is in a very good way. I[d] has agreed with her. She and the Queen seem to be running a race. I never saw anything like them and do not envy their occupation.

It seems extraordinary you neither hear nor see any *body* when you are at D. Place. How little one can depend *upon*—only as far as one can make one'self of use to them: *voilà pourtant le monde.* My B. has done wonders. S[r] R[t] has received a Letter from Him, and the Wal:'s another. He is certainly very kind to me. Most people in this country have imagined that I was entirely separated from Ld. D: *en conséquence* I have had a proposal, not from the E: but from a P: of the Empire *qui est souverain lui-même.* I undeceived Him as to my Situation, which is to be sure an extraordinary one. I wonder what it will be when I return to Ed. Since I have been abroad, I am more certain than ever of Ld. D. determination of our continuing separate. Do not mention this, but I have taken more than once occasion to write to Him, and one Letter in particular which if he had not fully determined not to allow himself to feel or think about me he would at least have answered me, and I should not have thought it possible to read all I wrote, even of a person one had never been acquainted with, without having some feeling for them. But he has been as silent to that as to all my other Letters.

It was written just after I got well at Spa, and I am certain he got it.

I have had another proposal which I forgot almost to mention. You know the Hamilton's are here—Husband, who desires His best Compts. to you and Aug: the wife and Cousin; they seem to be very good sort of people—and we live much together. Now for the proposal. They go the next summer to Brunswick and the upper Courts of Germany, and in the winter to *Italy*. They are kind enough to wish I should go with them, and say you can have no objection. All this is only *en l'air de mon Côté*, for it is certain I should wish much for that journey and in so agreeable and proper a style, but tho' I do not expect anything except seeing you and my Children very delightful in returning I should not like the Idea of so many months more without a glimpse of those I love—and to return for 3 Months bag and baggage would be too expensive. It once came across me to leave Miss C. at Munich, come to Ed. the very day it was in my power with my maid and a S't, and return to meet them and her again, in the Month of Or. at Munich—for it is provoking too loose so good an opportunity of seeing a Country I shall always regret not having seen, except in a manner which would make you uneasy. Mais celle ci, si je n'en avoit pas d'autre moi-même, lève toute obstacle of impropriety—as we should see the Curiosity's at our ease and be at our own society. But to tell the truth I do not know them enough to resolve to pass a number of Month's entirely together; one must be well acquainted with all the parties tempers and humours to be sure of agreing for so *long* a time *always* together—

therefore I rather have thrown cold water upon the scheme. Let me have yr. opinion.

Supposing you do not dissaproove of it, I shall, if upon better acquaintance I find them people agreable to be very much with, leave M: C: en Otage—at Munich with Mrs. Trevor, and return to her in the Mth. of Ocr. after having been in Ed. Jy: At: Sr: for if I can contrive to come to Ed. the first *possible* day, it is the first of July, and in that case I should not have been at Brunswick, as I must pass a month with Mrs. Trevor and till the middle of May I cannot well leave Vienna. It is necessary at the distance we live at, as I wish before I do a thing to know as far as I can whether it is pleasing to you or not. That is the occasion of my writing upon this subject so long before Hand and naming so many way's and means. Was I only to follow what I chose myself it would be time enough these two months to mention the subject of travelling, and then to say, My Dr. Mama, I am going there or there and shall be in England at such a time. But I tell you all my Idea's upon things that are possible, and do you say which is most agreable to you, for tho' I perhaps may like one thing more than another I am not so wedded to any plan as to go against your inclination and cool deliberation.

The Wall: desire many Cts., much obliged for yr. remembrance. P. George is gone, so I could not return yr. Compts. The E. is not I fear so well inclined towards us as he was, but His first Minister and my great *Freind* is very partial, to Yr. Humble Srt. and to the Whole Nation.

You will perhaps think this a dreadful long

scrawl. I must tell you even here I find German a very difficult language; it is so rich in words, so many to express the same meaning, and as for speaking it easily, I am sure I never can. Mrs. Trevor speaks it very fluently and writes it very prettily. Ld. Morton is quite a German. Ld. St. Asaph will not be at the trouble of learning it.

I am all astonishment at the news in the run away style which some of my correspondents have mentioned to me—nothing ever surprised me more than that Ly. M. Boyn: should be *off*—the other not at all, and the new Marriage's are very proper. I wish *the young* Couple's much happiness—the L. of D: & M: Pult: Ld. Westmoreland is, I am told, a very deserving y'g man, and Miss Child handsome, y'g and rich. Are there any more going forward? L^y A: Maria—and Ld. Lincoln at last, that may do well—*l'on ne peut répondre de rien dans ce monde.*

Lebe wohl, meine Theürste Mutter—ich müss vor Mittagesen—mich ankleiden—ich gehe heit sehr späte zu speisen mit der Herr Hamilton und seine Gemählin—bei der Herr St. Asatph aber wie es ist Halber vier dasübrign von meine Gedanken ich werde fur ein andern Brief behalten—gute nacht umarmen ich bitte sie meine Theure Swistern für seine Liebreich Tochter,

E. D.

Tell me whether this is legible and intelligible or not—pray. M: C: best Cts. and a very glad your Children were allowed to go to ice mine. I am sorry C: is not improved. Since they are both well *je suis très content.* Remember me I beg to the D: and George.

Lady Derby to her Mother.

2nd March, [1782 ?].

My Dear Mama,

I received by the last post two letters from you dated the 6th and 12th. The *nothings* which you mention, and which by the bye *all Ed.* seem to be employ'd about, entertain me very much as I am so thoroughly acquainted with all the Actors. My opinion is that all the young, both men and women, are gone a little mad: the former from Politicks, and the latter, what make them to me still more inestimable, for they cannot all have even the excuse of liking, and Vanity being their only motive, to run after a Young man at the rate you say is terrible. I own I think myself as well out of Ed. as I neither wish to game or to flirt with great or small. I never had the least passion for gaming and only liked it because it kept me away from what I *dislik'd*, and flirting is as little pleasing to me. Not that I dislike conversation, much the contrary, and in general it is much more *agreable* and *atenable* with men than with our own sex. When I have liked it Has been *tout de bon*, such is the nature of poor I. I am glad to see some people have succeeded in getting the place they have so long wished for. Where I have liked, tho' I am sensible *de torts*, I can not hate; thorough indifference is a much more agreable feeling to have, and perhaps a safer one.

The Florence Bro. is not so mad, only a fit of devotion; however the other does not go, and the Pope comes in April or May as Pope, and not incognito. They give for reason that the Head of the Church can not be incog: He

must be a great fool, for the E. is as steady as *other* people. He Has refused to Lodge at the Pallace which the E. offered to Him, but at His own House, where His Nuncio now resides. There has been great Changes here in all the great Offices. Some are abolished, some are join'd together, and everything tends for economy. The Russians return in August: when they are here economy is forgot; innumerable Fêtes are again ordered for their reception in the Summer. Paccheroti or Ranzzini are wrote for to Ed. There appears to be true pains taken to make at least the russian alliance Strong: if I had thoughts of remaining longer out of Ed. I should give way to the many kind invitations I have of remaining here some months longer.

You see by this I have given up all thoughts of Italy for the present. I have not changed my mind about the Hamiltons; they certainly are very good sort of people; but in the present Case, having asked and followed Sr. Rt. K.'s advice with regard to my situation, and having in consequence wrote a very explicit letter to my Brother, which in fact was only a more clear repetition of one I had written before and of which I wrote you the purport, Sr. Rt. was amazingly kind and thoroughly entered into my affairs, and appear'd to be well acquainted with all except just the latter part. He was of opinion that My Brother could and ought to take a Strong and warm part in it, with Ld. D., and that he is the only person who can, both from His being my Brother and from His intimacy with Ld. D: I think he has affection enough for me. Feeling things depend solely on Him to be active in this Cause, you will not

think me wrong in all this, and Sr. Rt.'s opinion I am sure must have weight with you.

I enclose you the Letter I had in the summer written to Ld. D. After reading it, and knowing he has never taken the least notice of that or any other, you can neither be displeased nor astonished that I should entreat of you not to think of making further attempts towards a reconciliation, which you must at last see is a determined impossibility. I have always been sure of it from the beginning, and often said so. There certainly can be no reason for my not going with you to Ct. at my return, but I must beg you will ask no leave of the Q. It will not be an agreable thing to me, but for once and at my first arrival I believe you will think it proper. I am sure I shall not torment her often. Ly. Morton and several of my friends, the Dss. of Cs: *par example*, will I am sure go at the same time—if you judge it right.

By the bye, the person whom you enquire after, who has been here for two or three Months and is now gone away, I beg you will excuse my naming *par écrit*—there might be objections to its being known. I will so far tell you *en confidence* that His family are relations of Her M'y's, how near I do not know, but pray do not name anything about this, for she would hate me the more. I shall consult some of my wise Friends here about my Journey Home—those who know the Country, the expense that the whole or part of my first intended plan would be, and the time it would take, for I do not intend to remain longer on this side of the water than the middle of July. Now tho' I wish to be with you, my Dear Mama, as much as possible, and as long as you like, yet you

know one must have a Home of one's own, let it be never *so homely*. In order to be near you if you would take for me, if it is to be had, the House that Mrs. Donald Campbell had when I left London; it was clean and neat, and Miss Campbell tell's me she only gave 140 pounds a year for it, furnished. It would do very exactly, and it is not in a dark part of Argyll Street—a gloomy House I own would give me the vapours. I hope you will be able to get it, and it is so close to A. House.

LETTERS FROM LADY DALKEITH AND OTHER PERSONS OF RANK

1760–1798

CAROLINE Countess of Dalkeith, eldest daughter and co-heir of John second Duke of Argyll and Greenwich, married Francis Earl of Dalkeith and had two children—a son, Henry, and a daughter, Frances, who married Lord A. Douglas.

Lady Dalkeith married, secondly, the Right Honourable Charles Townshend, brother of Charles Marquis of Townshend, and was created Baroness Greenwich with remainder to her issue male by her second husband, 1767, but as she died without issue in 1794 this dignity expired. She left one daughter. Her sister Lady Anne married Wentworth Earl of Strafford, but had no children.

Lady Mary Coke (Poll Coke) was another sister.

Lady Dalkeith to Lady Susan Stewart.

ADDERBURY, *July* 6, 1760.

A thousand thanks, my dear Lady Susan. You are a woman of your word, and I have behaved most honourably; not a living soul has seen your letter, not even my dear Charles. I hope this will encourage you to let me hear sometimes how yourself and the Dutchess do. I flatter myself change of air and the goat whey

(which I have been often told is a most excellent thing) will soon restore her health. She has my good wishes for every happiness this world can give, and I do assure you, whatever splenetick people may tell you, there's infinite satisfaction, comfort, etc. to be met with in this same world so often abused. Do you think, my good Friend, I could be happier or merrier anywhere than I am here? not even in those gardens of Eternal Spring so dressed and decorated by our Poets' pens. Tho I love and honor Scotland, I cannot consent to your settling there, so lock up that heart of yours till you return South; if you find it the least inclined to flutter, put on a double lock, my dear Lady Susan, and reserve it for some happy man on this side Tweed.

Lady Mary Coke writes me word she is better, but not well—that Dr. Duncan advises her to go to Tunbridge, but she dislikes the place so much she does not think she can prevail with herself to go. I must say she will be very much to blame if she does not. Lady Coventry, I hear, set out for Frome a Thursday, I think, and hope she must find herself better or she would not undertake so long a journey. I hear there's nothing left in London but Lying-in ladies, those who are expecting every day to be in that situation, and Lady Jane Scott, who still prefers the dust and stinks of London to the clear air and sweets of the Country. There's no disputing of Tastes, but to me this seems wonderfull. We have had some bad weather, but it's now charming, the ground enamel'd, and the whole air perfumed. We live out of door, and wish Adderbury had been in your way to Scotland. I flatter myself it

would please you, and that Charles and Caroline would have given you agreeable ideas of the marriage state. Adieu, my dear Lady Susan.

Believe me with truth

Faithfully yours
C. DALKEITH.

Mr. Townshend desires me to make his best comp^ts^. We desire you will say a thousand pretty things from us to the Duchess and General Campbell.* You have not said in what part of Scotland you are to pass the summer, so I shall inclose this to my friend Archibald Campbell to convey to you.

Lady Dalkeith to Lady Susan Stewart.

ADDERBURY, *Sept. ye* 22^d^, 1760.

Ungrateful Lady Susan cannot be, I imagined. The reason I did not hear from you was your being absent from the Dutchess.† I lament extreamly she is not perfectly well; freting [*sic*] is most prejudicial to health. What a pity she should ever have cause for it. Poor Lady Coventry's, I fear, is a desperate case, and sincerely sorry I am for it. From what I hear she grows weaker and weaker. I have been very uneasy about Lady Mary Coke. She came from Buxton, I think, 3 weeks ago mighty well; in a few days after got a bad cold, which was followed with a fever. For this she was blooded and blistered. She is now gone two

* General J. Campbell, afterwards 5th Duke of Argyll.
† Elizabeth Duchess of Hamilton and Argyll.

miles out of London for the air, but is still very weak and low. . . . Lady Charlotte Edwin has been some time in our neighbourhood. She was to go into waiting at Kew last Saturday. Lady Irwen was taken with a — frisky's fit at the Ball on the Lady Augusta's Birthday, and danced a Country Dance with the Duke of York. His Royal Highness is living a merry life at Southamption, dineing and suping with every body in the neighbourhood, and making love to every woman he meets. He has had several Balls given him, but he is so lame he can dance but a dance at each.

The Duke of Cumberland has been very near dieing; he is now pretty well again, but has not appeared in public since. Lord Ligonier is declining very fast.

Lady Carlisle has been very ill of a rheumatism in her head and face, which she got by going too late on the water with Lord William. Miss Legge is to be married the beginning of next month to Mr. James Brudenell. Lady Hertford is in Town expecting every day to lye-in of her 12th child. I am sure you would be sorry for poor Lady Lincoln; sure nothing ever was so sudden as that melancholy event. . . . London is so empty even Scandal sleeps. Lord Kelley was in a disagreeable situation at the York Races. A Miss Massey who his Lordship brought there thought proper to strike with no little vehemence in the Public Room a young lady who it seems had offended her by some dislike she had expressed at siting by her. As soon as Miss Massey was turned out, the Brother of the young lady challenged Lord Kelley. The result of this was Lord Kelley's asking pardon in the Rooms. Did

you see anything of the Northumberlands when they were in Scotland? I hear her Ladyship has wrote a very favourable opinion of it to Lady Carlisle. Pray inform me what Lord Eglinton means by laying aside his title.

Rosneath I never saw, but so very retired a place, as I have always heard it described, can only suit two people strongly attached to one another. Indeed, my dear Lady Susan, you was never designed for the still Life of a single State—'tis insupportably dull, that's certain; and I shall feel quite discomposed if something extremely agreeable does not offer when you come to London, which I take for granted you do in the winter with the Dutchess. God forbid you should be shut up in the Hermitage in Frost and Snow.

Our Babes are all very well. Upon my honor you need not have the least apprehension of my showing your letter to Mr. Townshend. He has seen neither of them, not even at the distance of a Room. Believe me ever true to my trust and faithfully yours,

C. Dalkeith.

Mr. Townshend's and my best compliments attend the Dutchess, Mr. Campbell, and yourself.

Lady Dalkeith to Lady Susan Stewart.

Adderbury, *Oct.* 19, 1760.

Dear Lady Susan,

Mr. Townshend and I were very sincerely concerned to hear Duchess Hamilton's health made it necessary for her to leave the Kingdom,

COUNTESS OF COVENTRY

After Gavin Hamilton

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but she is wise and prudent in loosing no time. Had poor Lady Coventry followed the advise that was given her, she would now have been here and well. Oh Lady Susan, though I had long expected her death, yet when I heard she was no more, it shocked me, but I was pleased to hear she had been for some time past very much composed and resigned to Death. I hope Lord Coventry will be kind and good to the children, poor things. They are too young to be sensible what a loss a mother is. Here have I, my dear Lady Susan, been increasing the World for goodness knows how many years, while that lazy sister of mine Lady Strafford does not produce a single babe. If I am tolerably well I propose throwing on a white and gold [dress] the Tenth of next month in order to wish the good old King (what in the course of Nature I think can't happen) that he may see many of these days. My Cloathes will be handsome, my face frightful; it has just now a strong resemblance to one of the long carving knives. You may laugh, but it is very true. The end of March and beginning of April I flatter myself it will grow more human. For goodness sake don't let this description of myself set you against marriage—there's nothing in it for a man you love. I was indeed surprised at Miss Walpole's match; from the beginning of the love to the conclusion of the affair was 10 days. It appears to me a match of present distress and future affluence. Lord Dysart's consent was not asked, and I think I can answer for my cousin's making no present settlement. He is as covetous as he is rich, and Father and Son two as odd mortals as ever existed.

Lady Mary Coke writes me word she is

quite well again, and I hear looks so. . . . If I should happen to hear of any very glaring piece of scandal, don't you blush or look confused when I write it you, and don't make Dutchess Hamilton believe me a wicked indecent woman. . . . Send me word if you have captivated the Duke of Marlborough, who you will see at Turin and Naples; you will give infinite pleasure to, dear Lady Susan,

Y^rs^ faithfully,

C. DALKEITH.

Mr. Townshend desires his best comp^ts^. His and mine attend Dutchess Hamilton and Mr. Campbell. No eye but mine has a sight of y^r^ letters upon honor. Pray don't go too near Mt Vesuvius.

Lady Dalkeith to Lady Susan Stewart.

ADDERBURY, *Thursday, Sept.* 1, 1763.

. . . We have a Spa three miles from hence, where Lady Saye, whom you must have often seen in the Drawing Room, now is. She dances there every Monday, for above four hours without once siting down, and is very near seventy. . . .

Lady Dalkeith to Lady Susan Stewart.

ADDERBURY, *Sunday, July ye* 21st, 1764.

DEAR LADY SUSAN,

I am sorry to renew our Correspondence with a Lament, but I have too great a regard for Lord Lorne and the Dutchess of Hamilton

Of Your Friends who have ~~the~~ opportunity
of being informed that I cannot boast of, I am
unwilling to fix upon an hour on Tuesday
or Wednesday morning, being obliged to go
out of town both days, but I will send or
call when I come home, I am My Dear Lord

Your Most obedt
humble Servant Bute

Sunday

LETTER FROM LORD BUTE

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not to feel quite shocked at reading in the Papers of Lord Campbell's death. . . . This is a prodigious fine Summer, and the Country in such beauty, I walk from Sweets to Sweets, and the Birds sing forth their joys from every tree and shrub. . . . London, I hear, is now quite a desert. Little has been talked of lately but the Mountains of Riches Lord Bath has died worth, above Eight Hundred Thousand Pounds in Land and Money. He has made his Brother General Pulteney Heir to all this, who is within two years of Eighty. How nobly he might have done by him, and at the same time how many was it in his power to have made happy. . . .

There's going to be a great deal of company at Lord Temple's at Stowe. Princess Amelia comes there to-morrow, and brings with her Lady Barramore and Lady Harriet Campbell, and there are 8 or 9 people invited to be in the House at the same time. The last letter I had from Lady Mary Coke from Spa, she had not fixed her time for Brunswick yet, as the whole Court was to go soon to Berlin. She was undetermined whether she sh^d go before they set out, or stay at Hanover till they returned. I hope the dear Princess is well. Pray name her when you write. The Dutchess of Grafton has a son and is very well. Lady Fanny Montague, Lord Halifax's daughter, has the hooping cough and in great danger of a consumption. She is now so weak she can't walk up or down stairs. The Prince of Wales and his Brother, I suppose you know, had the hooping cough. They are both in a good way.

The Northumberlands are gone to shew away at Alnwick. I had a letter last post from Lady Hertford. She says Paris has been very

empty and dull for these last 6 weeks, but several English are lately gone there: Lord March, Mr. Selwin, Mr. Rigby, and Mr. Fox and Mr. Stanley, but I hear of no ladies going there this year.

Lady Dalkeith to Lady Susan Stewart.

ADDERBURY, *Sunday, August the* 12th, 1764.

MY DEAR LADY SUSAN,

You must be very certain no distance can ever remove you from my thoughts, tho 400 miles is what I should never wish to be from my friends, and for this reason whenever I have gone to Scotland I felt as the generality of people wd do if they were setting out for the Deserts of Arabia. . . . I had a letter from Madam Mary [Polly Coke] a few days ago. She proposed setting out for Hanover the first or second of this month, where she wd stay till the Court of Brunswick returned from Berlin, and she then designed going to Brunswick. That visit I shall envy her, for I am very sincere when I say I admire and love the Princess of Brunswick. Mary has been mightily pleased, she tells me, with the Spa this year. She has made many agreeable acquaintances, one in particular, a Princess Kinsky, who by her account has every virtue and not the shadow of a failing. God knows who this Superior Being is, but I believe from Vienna. I had a letter last Post from London that said there was nobody there but the Bute family and Mrs. Anne Pitt. The Holderness remain in England this winter.

. . . I will be chiefly at Sion. The poor little Dutchess of Leeds went off shockingly sudden. She set down to Dinner that day in perfect

Health—eat of the first course heartily. When the second came, called for a glass of water, was taken with a trembling and called out, Good God, I can't drink. A gentleman at the table catched her in his arms or she w^d have fallen upon the floor. There was a Surgeon in the House at the time who blooded her directly. Many other things were done, but all in vain. She was taken at four of noon, and died that night at nine.

The Dutchess of Ancaster has produced another Daughter, which I daresay His Grace has frowned upon. I have seen none of the Temple family since Princess Amelia was at Stowe, so can give you no account of that visit. It is now settled that Lady Susan and Mr. O'Brien are to go to New York in America, where they are to stay three years. My sister Betty is at Castle Menzies. I am ashamed to say, though a Scotchwoman, I do not know what part of Scotland that is in. The Montroses are moving towards the South. They are come to Edinburgh, where I fancy they will not stay long. How will you manage this affair of Brunswick? It w^d be a vast satisfaction to her to have you with her during that time that I am sorry to think she must suffer, and yet it w^d be terrible not to have some of her children; but I sh^d be miserable you sh^d go so long a journey alone. . . . I often and often wish there was not such a cruel long journey between Brunswick and England, though my sister Mary [Coke], who makes nothing of these things w^d laugh to hear me treat them in a grave way. . . .

Sincerely yours,

C. Dalkeith.

Lady Dalkeith to Lady Susan Stewart.

ADDERBURY, *Sunday ye* 20th, 1764.

MY DEAR LADY SUSAN,

I should have answered your letter of the 8th, which I did not receive till the 17th (so long are letters coming from that same Rosneath, that is *not* in the Highlands), by the return of the Post, if it had not been for an accident. There is a tax imposed upon us all in the country, you know, which is the receiving at times the Company of the Country Squire and his wife at Dinner; but what is still worse, the dining with them, where their excess of civility, and the number of Dishes, every one of which prevents the desire of eating, and yet eat you must, or the Lady begins to look red, and tells you she is sorry there is nothing you like, when possibly she has been overlooking herself in the Kitchen the greatest part of the morning. You must allow all these distressing circumstances, and it was one of these Dinners that occasioned my silence last post, for I had sent my eyes carefully over the whole Table to find out the least poisonous dish, yet I made myself so sick, and had such a headache, the next day not a lively idea would come forth.

To my great surprise in a very short time after I wrote to you I received a letter from Madam Mary [Poll Coke] from London. I think in her travels she must have purchased a pair of wings. What occasioned this great despatch was her having letters from the Princess of Brunswick to their Majestys and the Princess of Wales. The private audiences she has had

to deliver these letters I should think have not been absolutely disagreeable. She was an hour one Evening with the Princess of Wales at Leicester, I should have said Carlton House, and pretty near as long with the Queen at St. James's, and the King present part of the time. In short she was in such a hurry to deliver these letters that she broke an Engagement she had with the charming Princess Kinsky at Spa, where she was to have returned for two days, and stayed but a few hours with the amiable nun at Brussels. She settled herself immediately in London, though I never heard of a more empty place. I have heard of her once at a Play with Miss Wrotsley and the Duke of York, the whole time in her Ear. Sometimes she goes for two days to Sion Hill. Last Sunday she was to dine there at a great entertainment made for the Duke of York. Now indeed the Dutchess of Norfolk is come to Town, confined to her house, admits but few, but Mary is one of the cordials that is to administer comfort to her sick Grace. You see, my dear Lady Susan, what confidence I repose in your Dutchess Hamilton by divulging the History of Mary. Consider the cross looks I should have if she ever knew it, and for my sake bury it deep in your own breast, but laugh and be amused yourself with it as much as I wish.

I must now mention an event that gives me real concern, the Death of the Duke of Devonshire. It was impossible to have lived with him so much as I have done for many years, and not be sensible of his great worth. From the beginning of his disorder I have seen it in a more serious light than the Physicians

did. I did not think the fatal day so near, and was quite shocked when I heard it. The loss of such a man to his children is terrible. He has left them great fortunes, made them independent indeed—to his daughters thirty thousand Pounds, and his two youngest sons, two thousand Pounds a year each. The present Duke has a prodigious fortune, about five and thirty thousand Pounds a year. He has left Mr. Conway five thousand Pounds. Those two good ugly people Lord and Lady Edgecombe are happy to a degree at the birth of their son. This first fruit of their loves, and the work of several years, I hear, is exceedingly small, but likely to live, and that is sufficient for them.

I have a notion the Lord and Lady Privy Seal take extremely upon them when they are in Scotland. I never have a letter from her that does not say what a vast deal of business both Public and Private he has. For the Public I can't pretend to judge. For the Private I should not think the management of his own Estate could employ such a vast deal of time, though I do remember when he was 2 months with me at Dalkeith ten years ago, the time when I mentioned to you I was miserable, he used to tire me to death every night with the same bags of dirty Papers he brought out and looked over, and by all I could find out, it was only to settle how many men would be sufficient to weed some quick-set Hedges round some fields at a place of his in Angus which they have lately given a new name to and call it Belmont Lodge. Betty was really a very good kind of woman till she became sister to a Minister and wife to a man that thinks himself one; since I am afraid she has been finer than is pleasing.

As I have spoke so freely of two sisters I must give my opinion of the third, Lady Strafford, who I can venture to assure you is a jewel of the greatest worth. You'll never see a change in her, but she will ever remain as amiable as she has been from her Birth. . . . I have my fears that this letter may have a dance as well as the last, but if it should come to Rosneath after you have left it, I suppose they will send it after you. . . .

Unalterably yours,

C. DALKEITH.

Lady Dalkeith to Lady Susan Stewart.

ADDERBURY, *Tuesday, Aug.* 20th, 1765.

. . . Mr. Townshend and I have both infinite joy in the thoughts of seeing the charming Princess of Brunswick so soon. We are much her humble servants, I assure you, and as I wish everything that can give her pleasure, I am extremely glad you are to meet Her Royal Highness in Holland. . . . Was there anything to amuse your sprightly disposition at Knaresborough? Indeed, my good friend, you were destined for more lively scenes, and I am sure the dear Princess must hold the British youths in high contempt when she finds you Lady Susan Stewart! I had a letter from Duchess Hamilton three weeks ago. I imagine she will soon be in town to attend Her Majesty. I am glad Duke Hamilton has so well recovered the accident he had some time ago at Eton. Lady Mary Coke has not yet left Spa. Lady Carlisle has been exposing herself there to a degree, while poor Lord William Musgrave has

been gravely attending the Custom House in London. Lord, Lord! what strange creatures there are among us women. Lady Warwick is come to England, was refused admittance at her Lord's House in Hill Street, and has taken lodgings in Kensington. Coll: Clark arrived in England a few days after her Ladyship. But why do I run into scandal when Politics takes up the thoughts of all in this Country? But I think you don't like them, and shall only say I hope everything will go on to the King's satisfaction, who I love, and assure my dear Lady Susan that I am most unalterably hers,

C. DALKEITH.

Compliments attend you.

The Duchess of Grafton to Lady Susan Stewart.

EUSTON, *Oct.* 15, 176–[?].

Though I am quite at a loss how to direct, yet I cannot neglect thanking you for a letter I received at Newmarket, and at the same time must beg to enquire after Duchess Hamilton, who I hope is not worse than when you wrote, though I fear the shock she has lately sustained must have affected her very much. I beg to be kindly remembered to her, and be so good to inform her that nothing prevented my writing on this occasion but thinking it may be troublesome. I hear of the Duchess etc. have got a passport to go into France, and I hope the warm climate will establish her health. . . . You will own I do not wish my friendship measured by the length of my letters. At this instant I have Lady Sondes and a great many more very agreeable

Sir

As the Earlothian Elec-
tion comes on tomorrow much sou-
ner than I expected, I will not
have it in my Power to wait
upon you before then, but I
flatter myself I shall have
the Pleasure of seeing you
tomorrow at Haddington, that
you may honour Mr. Dalrym-
ple with your Countenance
I am with great Regard
Melville your obliged Friend
27th Sept. Henry Dundas

LETTER FROM HENRY DUNDAS

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personages to have the pleasure of conversing with you. The Duke of Devonshire, the Duke of Bridgewater, Ld Waldegrave, Lord Sandwich, Ld Gower, Lord Sondes, Ld John Cavendish, General Ellison and Mr. Panton are with us.

Your faithfull and affec^ate^

A. GRAFTON.

The Duchess of Grafton to Lady Susan Stewart.

RAVENSWORTH CASTLE, *Nov.* 10, 1764.

MY DEAR LADY SUSAN,

In most instances my ambition would be to follow your example, but on the present occasion I will not; as I should not write then 3 months; for if Dearth of matter is an Excuse for long silence in London; what must it be 300 miles from it, where one month is a dozen? However, as I am not willing to be quite forgot, I will take up quietly with being treated like a Scotch Cousin and receiving now and then a short letter—but am determined in revenge you shall think of me at least *once* a week & sometimes twice. I have wrote to Mr. Crawford to make an offering of my Opera Ticket to you, w^h^ till after Xmas is entirely at your disposal. You will receive a Parcel in my name which Lady Clavering desired me to give to Lord Pembroke, as she did not know him. I have just passed 3 days with her. . . . I hear of your good looks and spirits often from more constant correspondents. Adieu, dear Lady Susan.

Believe me Y^rs^ sincerely,

A. GRAFTON.

Are you to be at Kimbolton or have you been there? Pray send me a Budget of news soon

or I shall not be in Charity with you. Let me hear particularly all you can about yourself. I am glad to hear you have got your fair Duchess [Duchess of Argyll]. From your mutual regard you will both be happy, and you both deserve it. Adieu.

William Henry Duke of Clarence, afterwards William IV., to Lady Susan Stewart.

DEAR LADY SUSAN,

My mother has ordered me to give her compliments to you, and to thank you for the letter you sent her from my sister, as well as for your good wishes upon this and every other occasion. I do not doubt that you have felt great joy upon the news we received Thursday from Brunswic. Thank God she is very well and in excellent spirits, notwithstanding its being a Daughter is a little disappointment. As to what regards your desire of taking my Sister's Picture home, I have done as you wished.

I hope Wilton is very jolly and that you are all good friends.

I am y^r Friend and humble Servant,

WILLIAM HENRY.

LEICESTER HOUSE, *Dec.* 16, 1764.

Lady Eglintoune to her Granddaughter.

June 6, 1765.

MY DEAR MADAM,

I received yours, and am extremely flattered by Lord Mansfield's approbation of my son Eglintoune. As His Lordship is a Reader of

Hearts, I am persuaded he will vallew him more for the goodness of that Inhabitant of his breast than the Eloquance of his Tongue. You have answered my letter to you in part, but not the materiall articall, which was that Duke Hamilton desired you to write me that I should gete my Picktor. I hope you know this to be so, and I hope the Dutchess remembers it; no Dowbt Lord Galloway knows about it, since he gave me for answer that I should gete it, and that he had directed that it should not be inventoried. I might have known that the Dutchess would not order anything out of her son's House, but the Tutors upon your Ladyship's asserting the preseeding facts can do it.

I find that other Picktors I had remains where they were, and as I intend my own as a Present to my Son for his new House I hope you'll aide me in the recovery of it. If it can be any inducement to give it upe I'll willingly part with the Duke's Grandfather's Picktor in exchange. I hope you'll aide me in my just clame. If you do it will bind me with the strongest ties of maternall affection to be,

My dear Child,

Your Grand Mothar,

S. EGLINTOUNE.

Lady Tavistock to Lady Susan Stewart.

Sunday, Sept. 22, 1765.

. . . I see your name frequently in the Papers as attending D. of H. Let me know how you are entertained at all the Balls, etc. It will be long before I have the honour of paying my

respects to the Dss. of Brunswick. I have no one here, but can never think the country otherwise than pleasant when I have my Hubsand and child. I hear Dss. Hamilton don't come to Town till the meeting of Parliament. . . .

Lady Tavistock to Lady Susan Stewart.

WOBURN ABBEY, *Sept.* 11, 1767.

. . . You cannot think how delighted I was with our Expedition to Trentham. It is a sweet place, and the country all round about it vastly wild and pretty, and Lord Gower's usual good humour and cheerfulness made it very agreeable. We were there a fortnight, and were 4 days on the road on our return home, as there were various places we wanted to see. We first went to Wrottesley to visit Lady Mary, and then to Birmingham, and to Mr. Shenstone's and Lord Lyttelton's, two places very well worth the trouble of going to. From thence we went to Warwick, but did not see the little Lord of that name or his Daughter, tho' we went to the Castle; but hearing the D. and Dss. of Marlborough were there, and all at Breakfast, we took that opportunity of stealing away, and leaving a message to say we were afraid of being troublesome.

Lady Tavistock to Lady Susan Stewart.

WOBURN ABBEY, *Sunday night, Nov.* 1767.

. . . Have you seen Lady Mary Fox? I hear her situation becomes her mightily. I fancy

I shall be in Town in less than 3 weeks, as the D. of Bedford talks of going there before the meeting of Parliament, which I own I am sorry for, as I w^d wish to pass the remainder of my life here, for my almost broken heart can never think of the world again. . . .

Lady North to Lady Gower.

QUEEN ANNE STREET, *Oct. the 4th,* [1772?].

MY DEAR LADY GOWER,

As I know that you will be glad to hear I am arrived safe in London, I cannot resist writing to you. . . . Lady Derby continues vastly well, and I quite agree with you in thinking she is the same agreeable creature she ever was, and if she is so in London I think it is a greater proof than her being so in the country. I wish you were arrived. I often pass by your House and always look up, but have only the mortification of seeing the Paper still round the Frames of your Pictures, which gives me no reason to hope that you are coming soon. Lord Thanet has been very ill, but is, I hear, now better. Lord Sackville and Miss H. Wrottesley are now in Town, but are going to Knowle very soon. Lord North is, thank God, surprisingly well. We went to Bushy last Monday, and found him in good spirits and in no pain. To-day he comes down stairs.

The Duke of Hamilton is a very pretty young man, perfectly unaffected and well bred, and I dare say will turn out vastly well, if the air of London agrees with him. Lord Cathcart seems likewise to be agreeable. The world in general

say that he is attached to Lady Eliz. Capell, but I cannot perceive she has made any great impression on him, though I see plainly that the Essex's are laying out for to take him in, which I think they will fairly do if they succeed. I hope you have good accounts from Lady Carlisle, though I think it is very likely she may be with you at this time. . . . Poor Miss Pelham has had bad luck lately at Quinze. She is but just come to Town, and I think the Winter has begun very unfavourably for her. She has let Esher for £500 per annum, but I understand Lady Sondes and Miss Mary are entitled to a share of the Rent, which means Miss Pelham receives but £200. Adieu, etc.

H. North.

Lady Wentworth to Lady Stafford.

1780 [January ?].

. . . We have all indeed the greatest reason to be rejoiced and thankful that the New Year has begun so happily in the amendment of our dear King, who has certainly gained ground surprisingly within the week in spite of that horrid Dr. Warren, who I hear refuses to sign his being one whit better. . . . We depend very much upon Lord Stafford being a warm friend to us in getting rid of him, as I understand it is now depend on the Cabinet. You have no doubt heard of the horrible fracas. Nothing can equal his impertinence & want of feeling. Dr. Willis, who has nothing but the King's good will at heart, is the most quiet, sensible, good man. . . .

Lady Wentworth to Lady Stafford.

[1780 ?]

I must first begin by telling you how remarkably well the dear King has been this Evening, and with what satisfaction he talked of having seen Lord Stafford, who he said had been so friendly with him. I have been above an hour with him. He told me he should never forget his dear Lady Stafford, who he had always loved and was so sorry to hear she had been ill: it gave me such pleasure I could not go to bed till I had informed you of it. Indeed the seeing him as well, kind, good, and much himself as ever makes me overflow with joy, & I know I cannot communicate it to any Person who will share it more sincerely with me than yourself.

I must now beg you will be so good as to tell Lord Stafford from the Queen, that she hopes he will coincide with her opinion with what I am going to mention, and if he thinks proper will execute her commission, which is that the King is to see the Arch Bishop, I believe, on Friday, & His Majesty perseveres in his intention of going to the Public Thanksgiving. Now the Queen wishes that you should desire the Arch Bishop (though not from her) to tell the King that it will be better not, to defer *that* till he is able to undertake it, and that it will be a very great harry to his nerves at present; but that when they are strong enough to bear it, that it will be very proper for him to make his first appearance upon such an occasion, and that he may then have a prayer made for that. The next commission is that the Chancellor has proposed

(or hinted) at Dr. Willis quitting the King, which she wants Lord Stafford to dissuade him from, as the King likes them so much, is anxious they sh^d^ stay as long as he likes, and thinks their remaining yet with His Majesty of the greatest consequence, but wants to get rid of the other Physicians. The other request is that you should get him to advise the King not to return yet to Windsor, which His Majesty is all impatience for; and the Queen as adverse, from thinking it public, etc. Will Lord Stafford also beg the Arch Bishop to be at Kew about half-past Ten on Friday?

I think I have now obeyed Her Majesty's command in everything but in begging her name may not be mentioned to the Chancellor, or that you have received these hints, that I may now, my dearest Lady Stafford, release you from this long scrawl by subscribing myself what I am most truly,

Your ever Affec^ate^

E. W.

Wednesday night, 11 *o'clock.*

P.S.—The King has so entirely set his heart upon going to Windsor that I am sure it will be quite painful to him to give it up, and the Queen is so prejudiced against it that I don't believe they will prevail upon her to go. I fancy her desire is to go to Town.

Lady Wentworth to Lady Stafford.

[1780?]

My dearest Lady Stafford,

The enclosed I have just received from the dear Queen, who in the midst of all her afflictions thinks always of giving comfort and

pleasure to all her friends. I am sure it will make you happy, therefore send it by the Messenger that you may get it as soon as possible. What goodness of Heart the dear King shows! I love him more than I can express. He has had but an indifferent night, I hear, but am not yet informed of particulars. Sir Lucas Pepys is charming. I am all anxiety for him to be rewarded. The Queen saw him last night and was as gracious as possible, with which he seemed extremely pleased; indeed nothing could be more flattering than her manner to him, which gave me the greatest pleasure, as I think a difference should be shown to those who behave well. She always calls him my dear Friend. I am happy beyond measure about the Chancellor. He behaves so well. The Queen is so much pleased with him. He has done her so much good. I mean her Friend appears so much more at ease, and I am sure she deserves every comfort. Adieu, my dearest Lady Stafford. Love me as sincerely as I do you, and

Believe me ever yours most affec^ly^,

E. W.

Queen Charlotte to Lady E. Gower.

My dear Lady Elizabeth,

Pray let Lady Stafford know that the dear King enquired last night after Lord Stafford and Lady, and said to Sr Lucas, Ah, Lady Stafford always was my Friend. I think she should know His Majesty remembers Her as a small reward for Her anxiety about H.M. I beg my compliments to Lord and Lady Stafford may be added likewise. Adieu, my Dear.

Charlotte.

Satirical Account of Life at Chatsworth during the Life of Georgiana Duchess of Devonshire.

A Rational Day in the Country!

The Ladies rise from one o'clock to two—breakfast in their own rooms for the convenience of having their hair combed while they drink their tea. Cold meat is brought for the Dogs at the same time. Send messages, or (if Time permits) write notes to each other, just to say "Dearest one, how do oo do?" The usual answer is "As oo do, so does poor little I, by *itself* . . . I."—This delicate complaint of solitude sets the whole house in motion. All the Ladies run from one room to another till they have mustered a sufficient force to venture among the men, three or four of whom they employ in franking letters [franking was a Peer's privilege, his signature giving free postage], which they instantly set about writing [the Peer or Minister having written his name on the envelope], having first settled the Persons to whom each Lady is to write by drawing straws. As there is a want of tables at Chatsworth the Ladies have contrived an ingenious and very convenient method of supplying that deficiency by placing the letter on the left Elbow near the shoulder, and in this manner they write with the greatest ease and tolerable accuracy long letters on all subjects and to every sort of correspondent, standing, walking, and even running, and without the least interruption of conversation, which at Chatsworth *never* goes beyond a whisper. As soon as the letters are finished they are huddled together

on the table, where each Lady draws just a Frank or a letter as chance directs, as they take the precaution of beginning them all alike with the general terms of general civility that may apply to anybody, such as "My Dearest most dear ever adored Lord without whom I cannot live—*Bess oo.*" The groom of the chambers is then summoned to bring candles, sealing wax, and seals with various ingenious devices more or less tender according to the different Franks they are to be affixed to.

If by this time it is grown nearly dark and snows and freezes pretty hard, walking is usually proposed. I forgot to observe that when the Ladies first come down to a small Room with a large fire they are wrapped up with furs and waddings of various sorts, but as this heavy "furniture" might impede their agility in walking, they throw it off, and chuse lighter drapery before they venture out—such as gauze or muslin shawls, thin silk sandals, which with the help of a long Pole with a spike in the end of it (to throw over their shoulders, or stick into any gentleman's foot who has the honor of accompanying them) form the walking apparatus. The reflection of the snow in the glimmering of the Moon through the trees, if it is a clear night, enables them to find their way round the pleasure ground very tolerably. They are careful not to overheat themselves or discompose their dignity by going out of the usual pace used at funerals or other processions, and are kind enough to carry muffs, pocket handkerchiefs, books, letters, sticks, and gloves to strew the walks with, and to amuse their companions by the like occupation of picking up these necessary articles as often as they

drop them. By the time they have changed their wet cloaks, the Dinner Bell rings (4 o'clock is the usual hour).

And, as this is a House of Monastic Regularity, the Ladies immediately upon hearing it draw their chairs round the fire, and come downstairs if they are in their rooms, to begin their studies or enter into conversation, or chess for the morning. When the Dinner has been served up about half an hour they usually retire to dress, and then meet either in the Duchess' or Lady E. F.'s room for a quarter of an hour's social talk. At length the female cohort enter the Dining Room. It is difficult to ascertain their exact diet, as it varies according to their health and—humours. Those who are inclined to be feverish and have chest complaints feed on Bologna Sausages, potted Hare, or any other cooling diet of the same nature; the feeble, nervous, and chilly prefer sour oranges, sallad, and Barley water; but tho' nice and various in their choice, none of them incline to eat copiously unless by chance they are troubled with indigestion, headache, or sickness, in which case large portions of solid meat, truffles, toasted cheese, or any other hard substance, diluted by Ale or Liqueurs, is administered.

By the noise and chatting that ensues on their leaving the Dining Room it is concluded that they remain some time in the Drawing Room, but as soon as the Gentlemen come out to Tea and Coffee, each Lady retires to her respective apartment, where to pass the time, for want of anything to do, she goes to sleep (many of them have been asleep two or three hours before Dinner). On waking they

again assemble in one of their rooms, and between eleven and twelve retire to the Music Room and crowd round the Pianoforte that each in her turn may have the pleasure of refusing to sing or play. Singing, conversation, noise, and a few chords now and then on the Harp or Pianoforte fill up the time till supper; but the moment that is brought in, everybody hastens to begin the day's amusements, and repairs to whist, chess, backgammon, billiards, according to their fancies' direction. In the course of a few hours, the supper being sufficiently cooled, the Duke invites his friends to partake of the genial Board; every one presses eagerly for a place, especially those who do not sup. The Ladies sip by turns cowslip wine, punch, or cherry syrup, take their leave, and spend the remainder of the night in confidential discourse, dividing into small parties of two and three for this purpose, and then leaving the supper room, and separating for the night, as the Housemaids begin to thirl their mops and open the shutters to the sunshine.

It is by adhering strictly to this Regimen that they are enabled to preserve their health and beauty unimpaired, but it requires some strength of mind and resolution to submit to so severe a mode of life, and may not immediately strike you as the best calculated for the improvement of health, beauty, or understanding, but if you have any doubt I will produce my examples to you—Match them if you can!

To Lady G. L. Gower,
Trentham, near Stone, Staffordshire.

Chancellor Lord Thurlow to Lady Gower.

[1780.]

Dear Lady Gower,

I am told you have been so good as to make little Leveson sit for his Picture, and that you think it will do. I have some curiosity to see that, but a much greater desire to see him: for though as you know I have always been ready to acknowledge that nobody could teach him as well as My Lord, I have never been much disposed to think that he would. It w^d be more a Pity than a Wonder if you were reduced by the pleasure of it to keep him from a Place of more certain and constant drudgery, which ought if possible to be made his habit, and the training should begin forthwith. I think I am sorry that Lord Gower does not ride so much as he did. I want to know what effect the waters seem to take on him, and also what your Ladyship has done with them, that one may begin to calculate on the chance of seeing you again. As you don't like writing you may order Georgiana to rule another sheet of Paper and give me some account of these matters.

Chancellor Lord Thurlow to Lady Gower.

Dear Lady Gower,

It was extremely provoking: Phillot's answer came by the Post yesterday too late to be sent you; or perhaps it might have stopt you, and saved you the disagreeableness of living so many days in an Inn. I suspect by the date of it that the Porter forgot to send

my letters by the Saturday's Post, which consequently made a delay of 2 days. I can't help rejoicing, however, that you have got the house, for, considering the situation of it, the outlet to the fields, etc., it surely is better than any Lodging House you could have expected.

I have read Lord Littleton's letters with great curiosity and entertainment, and yet I don't find it easy to tell you what I think of them, except that I don't agree with his Editor upon that easy sincerity and openness of sentiment which he imputes to them. Perhaps it may be true that they were not written expressly for the Printer, but it comes to the same end if they were written on purpose to be shewn, and that I think sufficiently evident. At the same time I think he has aimed, and not without considerable success, at that stile which his Editor commends, but with some strokes of affectation and thoughts fetched too far which happened more frequently and vitiously in speaking both publicly and privately. I knew him and observed his Talents. They were in some respects considerable. But his industry was much greater. He had more learning than he knew how to use or apply. His speeches were compositions planned for the single purpose of crowding together as much reading as he could introduce, of Classics, and especially Poetry. They wanted even the air of minding the occasion. Consequently they were little felt, and less applauded, than they had a right to expect. His letters are composed with as much care, and better taste, and more corrected.

I have sent by the children Keith Stuart's narration, which seems to be a sufficient

vindication of his conduct, and full evidence of the perverseness of his Fortune. Lady Augusta's Charardes were in my Head. They were so well imagined, that I can't tell why they seemed so much beholden to her imposing face, and agreeable manners. One who finds himself disposed to growl at pleasantries which strike everybody else should begin with suspecting the fault to lye in the singularity of his own Humour. With all this allowance to His Lordship's Puns I have sometimes failed of attaining the Point I aim at, not always sincerely admiring nor always perfectly comprehending his invincible want of true taste, for a Pun, I am afraid, puts me wrong upon the subject of a Chararde, which has a wonderful tendency to degenerate into a Pun. But as I easily believe there is fair room to introduce better conceits, and more desirable still, to leave out altogether that unmeaning crash of sounds which puzzles in a genuine Pun, I still remain ready to like a Chararde whenever I can. There was one found the other day in a Repository as fit for this as any kind of composition: which I send you enclosed. It appears to have been written for a certain Georgiana. Her titles, if she had any, and her other names, if she had ever so many of them, were torn off. The author seems to have aimed at my notion of a Chararde. But from other defects which are plainly involuntary faults, in the articles of Wit and Poetry, his Piece at the utmost can only serve to show, what he w^d have done, if he could.

I have the honour to be y^r Ladyship's, etc.

A Gentleman unknown to Lady Gower.

PARIS, *July* 18, 1786.

MY DEAR LADY GOWER,

You may imagine how happy it made me to hear by a letter from Mr. Corbin that he had just received intelligence from one of the members of the Congress who was at Philadelphia of *General* Washington's having resigned his command upon account of their having declared themselves independent of Great Britain. My idea is that they saw things were grown too serious, and as they could not make a better of it they pretend that they did not wish for Independence, which I believe was the sole idea that actuated them all. However I think now it looks as if all would go right. I hope they will choose good men to fill up the Employments—not such as my friend Mr Randolph (to lay prejudice aside). The King's officers ought to be men of integrity and Honor, and I am sure he has not an idea of either.

We have dined once at the Ambassador's. *Madame* does not at all seem as if she wished an intimacy. I think she imitates the Dutchess of Gordon—goes about in an afternoon in a Polonaise with her hair in *négligé* and a Hat. I asked her how she liked Paris ? She said, Very well, but being off her guard some time after, she said that she thought their Soupées the most disagreeable things in the World, for that there was no conversation, nothing but Play, and that she never played, and if by accident there was a gentleman not of the Party, all the old women took care that he should speak to nobody but them ; but that she pretended

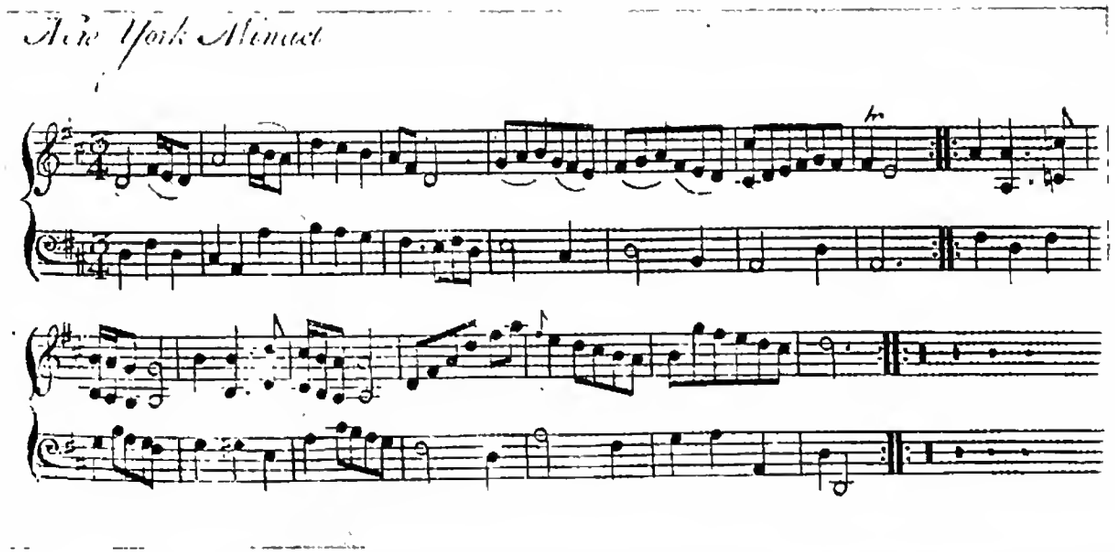
her health was indifferent, therefore could not bear late hours, so came away as soon after Supper as she could. Indeed I believe the Society is Belle Esprits, and as she says old *Fograms*.

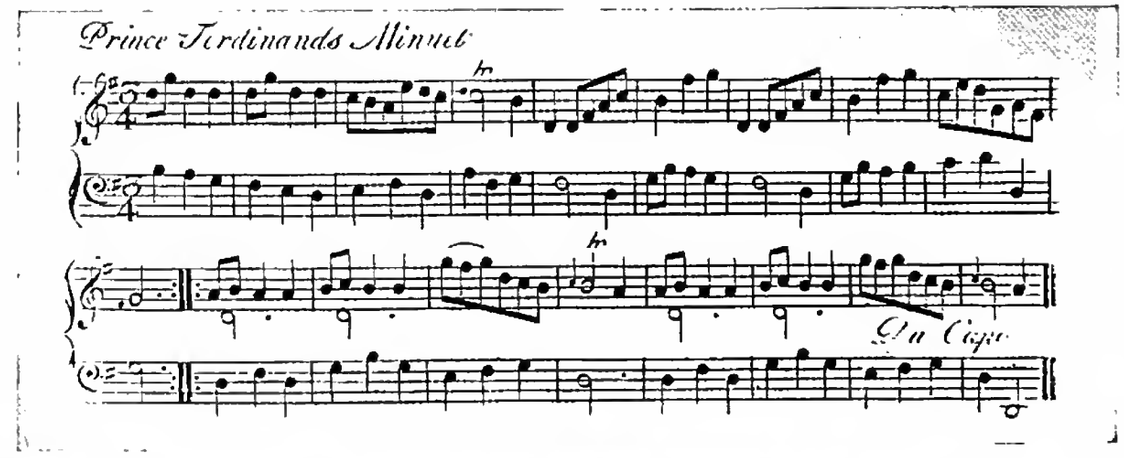
Lady Clermont will be *au despoir* [*sic*] when she hears of the civilities that the Queen has shown to Lady Luckan. She flattered herself that no other Person w^d^ be taken notice of, and was so anxious about it, that at meeting I will tell you of a Finesse to prevent my going to Versailles, as the Queen * spoke to me and enquired what stay I was to make at Paris? The partiality the Queen shows all the English is astonishing, and partly the reason, I imagine, of her being so disliked. They talk constantly how expensive she is, and that the Etiquette of the French Court is now quite laid aside. Also her having so much to say in Politicks, and her Favorites coming into employment, *les effraye tous*. It was entirely owing to her Mr de Guine's reception, and his being made a Duke. 'Tis she that supports the Choiseul party. It is currently reported that Spain and Portugal are going to war, and hinted if that will not occasion a war betwixt England and France. Farewell, my dear Lady Gower, and write to me honestly if I do not tire you with my long foolish Scrawls. But I am so happy to have any way of conversing with you that that must plead my excuse. I beg my best comp^ts^ to Ld Gower and love to Lady Louise.

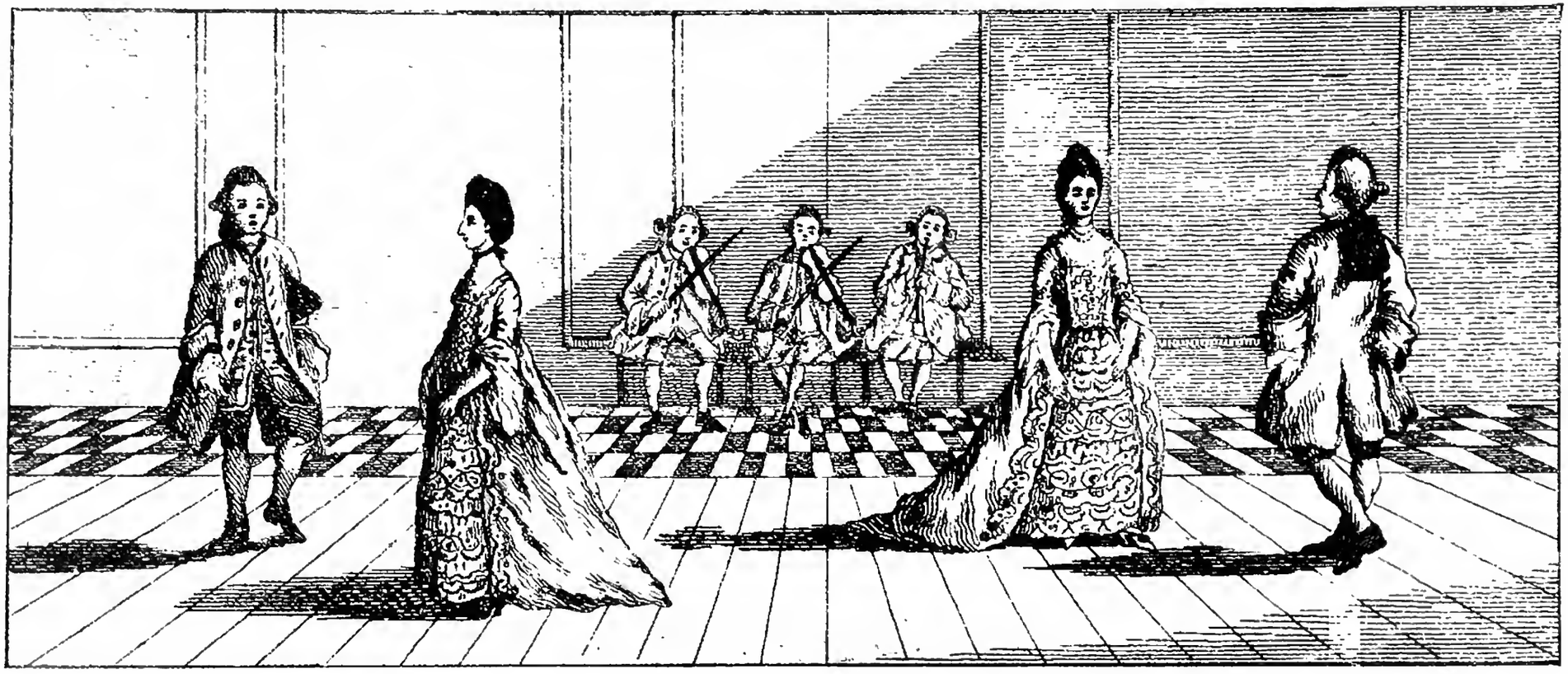
Ever yours,

C. D.

* Marie Antoinette.


New York Minuet


Prince Ferdinands Minuet
Da Capo



*The Duke of Dorset, who was the cause of Lady Derby's misfortunes, to Lady Stafford.**

PARIS, *Dec.* 19, 1787.

I have the satisfaction to acquaint y^r Ladyship that Lord Strathaven arrived here the day before yesterday. I have not yet seen him, but I flatter myself he will dine with me on Sunday. You may be sure I shall endeavour to make his stay here as agreeable as possible. He always was a favorite of mine, and the interest you take about him will make me more desirous than ever of shewing him every attention in my power. I am much obliged to y^r Ladyship for y^r kind congratulations on my being approved of by His Majesty for one of the vacant Garters, but I wish the Public Business would permit the Minister to think of recommending to the King to hold a Chapter. I have long since announced to my friends here the honor intended me. I am now continually pestered with Mais, mon Dieu, quand est-ce qu'on vous enverra votre Jarretière? Je reponds toujours, J'espère la semaine prochaine.

Lady Caroline Grafton likes very much her situation. She is a very sweet-tempered girl, and I have no doubt she will turn out vastly well. She would have been quite spoilt had she remained another winter in London. I am exceedingly flattered with the souvenir

* John Frederick 3rd Duke of Dorset was the son of Lord John Philip and Lady Frances, daughter of John Earl Gower. He succeeded his uncle January 6, 1769. His sister married the Earl of Thanet. In December 1783 he was appointed Ambassador to France. He married January 4, 1790, Arabella Diana Cope, daughter and co-heiress of Sir John Cope. He died July 19, 1799.

of Lady Georgiana and Lady Charlotte. It is impossible to be acquainted with more amiable and charming young women. I have met with nothing since so gay as our little dances at Trentham. I hope we shall be able to renew them again in the course of next summer. Lord Thanet desires me to present his best respects to your Ladyship. I have the honor to be with the greatest regard and truth

Y^r^ Ladyship's most faithful
and devoted humble servant,
DORSET.

I mean to write a line to Lord Stafford to-day if I have time.

The Duke of Dorset to Lady Stafford.

PARIS, *April* 23, 1789.

DEAR LADY STAFFORD,

I assure you it is no small mortification to me to be deprived of returning to London for a few days, but the Duke of Leeds has been so little attentive to my request which I made at an anxious moment that at present it would be quite mal placé to renew it. Therefore il faut que je prenne mon parti, and contentedly remain here till the summer. You must be sensible it is owing to particular circumstances that I have not behaved better on a certain subject; my ideas là-dessus are not changed, and I have still great hopes of satisfying you. I wish to send my nieces home, but I don't know how to get them back. I hope you will find them improved; *in dress* I am quite sure they are. Whenever you have a leisure moment I will be glad to know how Lord Stafford

does and your amiable daughters. I am, dear Lady Stafford, always

Your most affec^ate humble servant,

DORSET.

I hope the result of this day's fatigue to the King will not be attended with any bad consequences. *J'en ai bien peur.*

The Duke of Dorset to Lady Stafford.

GROSVENOR SQUARE, *Dec.* 3, 1789.

I have delayed writing to you, dear Lady Stafford, till now as I should have been sorry not to have given you full satisfaction upon a point which you have so often flattered me as the having very much at heart, I mean your wishes of my forming an alliance with Miss Cope *of an indissoluble nature.* I have the pleasure to acquaint you that everything is settled, but the writings are not yet finished, and that is the only difficulty in the way! As soon as the Lawyers are ready, then I *shall put my nightcap over my eyes,* and be turned off very handsomely. I have long known Miss Cope, and she is a most charming young woman. You always commended her, and I assure you I never thought you said too much. I write by this post to Lord Stafford. I am persuaded he will not disapprove my making this change in my situation; he is too happy himself not to wish those whom he has a regard for equally so. Though the subject is very publicly talked of, it is not *positively known,* therefore I rely upon your discretion not to mention it but as general Report and Conjecture. I beg to be

kindly remembered to all your amiable Daughters, and I hope that they will be disposed to treat their new "cousine avec bonté."

I am, dear Lady Stafford,

Y^r most aff^ate humble servant,

DORSET.

William Pitt to the Earl of Galloway.

DOWNING STREET, *May* 9, 1789.

MY LORD,

I am honored with your Lordship's letter expressing your wish to have your Pretensions to a British Peerage laid before his Majesty, on a supposition that several Peers were likely soon to be created, but as I can assure your Lordship that I do not know of any such measure being at present in contemplation, I flatter myself you will excuse my not entering further into the subject.

I have the honor to be, my Lord,

Y^r Lordship's most obed^t & faithful Servt,

W. PITT.

George Canning to Lady Stafford.

DOWNING STREET, *Aug.* 21, 1798.

DEAR LADY STAFFORD,

I should feel very loth to transmit to you the enclosed account of Buonaparte's success, if I could not at the same time tell you that there are those in London who refuse to believe it in the extent here stated, and who found their incredulity on not unsubstantial reasons. First, the Turk who carried the Intelligence to Constantinople having fled

Oldest Male of the 1st Regt of Foot Guards. — You may perhaps have heard of his having been some time ~~[illegible]~~ brought to ~~the~~ a Court Martial; but if you have the Goodness to make Inquiry into the Circumstances of that Affair I believe from what is stated to me you will find nothing in them to give you an unfavorable Opinion of Him. If it should be in your ~~Power to give me~~ this Opportunity of gratifying I Hamilton, I shall be much obliged to you.

Yours most sincerely

W Pitt

Sir G Yonge &c.

LETTER FROM WILLIAM PITT

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while the French were yet landing could not possibly have formed an accurate estimate of the number of Troops, and by the statement which he makes corresponding so exactly with what is known and has long been published to be the force of Buonaparte's fleet, it should seem that he (the Turk) reported rather what he had chosen to believe than what he had actually seen. Secondly, there are concurrent rumours from all parts of Italy of an action having taken place between Nelson and Buonaparte, and the Mail by which the enclosed Intelligence comes, brings also a letter from Trieste dated August 2d which states confidently that Nelson had gained a victory over Buonaparte off the Island of Candia on the 10th July. It is probable therefore that the party arrived at Alexandria consists only of the advanced Division of the French Fleet, and that Buonaparte himself with the main Body may still have been overtaken by Nelson. You must extract from these facts and opinions as much hope as will support you and Lord Stafford, till I can tell you that we have actually heard from Nelson. I am ever, dear Madam,

Most sincerely yours,

GEO. CANNING.

END OF VOL. I.

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